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AN
ANSWERS
TO THE
QUERIES,
CONTAINED IN
A LETTER to Dr. SHEBBEARE,
Printed in the PUBLIC LEDGER, *August 10. (1757?)*
TOGETHER WITH
ANIMADVERSIONS ON TWO SPEECHES

In Defence of the PRINTERS of
A PAPER, subscribed a *SOUTH-BRITON*,

The FIRST pronounced by
The Right Hon. *THOMAS TOWNSHEND*,
in the House of Commons,

And printed in the LONDON PACKET of *February 18.*

The SECOND by
The Right Learned Counsellor *LEE*,
in GUILDHALL,
And printed in the PUBLIC LEDGER of *August 12.*

In the Examination of which a Comparison naturally arises between the public and private Virtues of Their Present Majesties, and those of King William and Queen Mary. The Merits, also, of Roman Catholics, and of Dissenters from the Church of England, respecting Allegiance and Liberty, and their Claims to National Protection, are fairly stated, from their past and present Transactions.

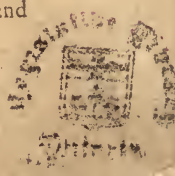
By J. SHEBBEARE, M. D.

Falsus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret
Quem nisi mendosum et mendacem. HOR.

L O N D O N :

Printed for S. HOOPER, at No. 25, Ludgate-Hill; and
for T. DAVIES, in Ruffel-Street, Covent-Garden.

[Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.]



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THERE are few propensities more prevalent among the individuals of human kind, whose transactions have been the least removed from the most common that can happen, than a persuasion that the daily occurrences of their lives are of so interesting a kind, as to be highly deserving the attention of the public. This opinion of their importance chiefly arises from the partiality of self-love. Each of them not only observes, with a depreciating eye, the actions of other men; but beholds, in a too favourable aspect, his own also. From this origin have sprung the numerous memoirs and lives which have been obtruded on the world, not only by men who have been their own biographers; but by such also who have applied, to the talents of others, through a conscious deficiency in their own. The motive of my appearing before the public, on this occasion,

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arises

arises not from that cause, but from the desire of not being deemed more culpable than I am; and of defending myself from such calumny, as no man, the least susceptible of the emotions of an honest heart, can suffer to remain unanswered, without being justly charged, either with an unpardonable insensibility to the claims of character; or with an impossibility of obviating the accusations which are laid against him. For although no man of sense will think it either necessary, or even prudent, to reply to the obloquy and invectives of anonymous writers, who may have defamed him by a relation of circumstances that never existed; by misrepresentations of those which have, when they are not of an immoral nature, and of no concern to the public; yet does it sometimes happen, although the accuser withhold his name, that the facts on which he grounds his accusations may be incontrovertible, notwithstanding the manner, in which they are represented, imparts a falsehood to all that he relates; and the nature of them may be so criminal, that to abstain from attempting a refutation, would be justly considered as a confession to their truth, and adequate to self-condemnation.

Innumerable are the instances of the former kind of publications against me, to which I have never given the least reply. Of the latter, there has appeared a paper, in the Public Ledger, of the 10th of August, which no man, who is not dead to every laudable sensation, can suffer and remain in silence. The malevolence it contains is directed against the most estimable part of every man's character, his integrity. It is solely on that account that I am induced, in this manner, to make my appeal. And I would willingly

lingly hope, that, on so interesting an occasion, the vindication of a private man will not be deemed an impertinent obtrusion on the public.

On the 29th of July, a paper was printed in the Public Ledger, under the denomination of "a character of Dr. Shebbeare." In this notable performance, it was said, that "John Shebbeare" was bred an apothecary, if he had any breeding, "dubbed a doctor of physick at a foreign seminary, "where degrees are held in equal estimation as at "a Scotch university: that is, asses might have, "if asses could *bray* or *pay* for them." This, I imagine, is the first time it has been asserted, that asses are *not* doctors of physick, because they cannot *bray*. However, from this specimen of this writer's wit, satire, and good manners, may it not be fairly inferred, that he is justly entitled, by his talents, to the degree of doctor, without being obliged to *pay* for them. In whatever part of the world I took my degree, I would hope that what I have written in physick, has neither disgraced the university from which I received it, nor induced the faculty to pronounce me a novice in my profession.

However, "being thus dignified," he says, "I set up for a writer, and received subscriptions, "to a considerable amount, for an history of England, which, to this hour, has never been published." To this part, he shall receive an answer, when I come to examine his paper of the 10th of August.

He then says, I "poured out such foul abuse on "the late king, that the ministry, more loyal "than the present, proceeded against me with "justice." In this place, I apprehend, this gentleman-like writer lies under a mistake. In what did I pour *foul abuse* on the late king, or on any other

other person? And when he pronounced the ministry of that king to be more loyal than the present, had he forgotten that these loyal ministers of George the second, when rebellion was in the realm, in one body threatened to desert him, unless he dismissed lord Granville from his service, and obtained their end? have the present ministry presumed to treat their sovereign with an insult so egregiously disloyal? have any ministers, since his majesty's accession to the throne, sacrificed the honour and the welfare of Great Britain to German interests? have they chained a British fleet in the bay of Gibraltar, whilst those of France were uniting, in order to obtain the retreat of a French army, from the confines of Hanover? have they defeated an expedition against Rocheforte, for the sake of concluding a treaty at Closter-Seven: or are such transactions the proofs of loyalty in this writer's opinion? if they prosecuted me with justice, did I not atone for the offence with a sufficient suffering? however, he adds, "the doctor, by this, obtained his end: he received a punishment, which, to a virtuous character, would be worse than death; to him it was *distinguished* exaltation." Does it not seem to be a singular conceit of his, that I wrote on purpose to be punished? and, if the punishment can constitute the crime, I am apprehensive this ingenious writer will be mightily puzzled to prove that the martyrs, and even the apostles, whose punishments were greater than mine, were not men of less virtuous character than I am. As to my exaltation, it was distinguished enough. And, if that were my end in writing, I obtained it. And so far am I from a desire of engrossing such distinguished exaltation, that I sincerely wish the writer of this paper, and
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of another, of the 10th of August, may be rewarded according to his deserts; and then he will be equally distinguished and exalted.

Upon this exaltation, it seems, "I became noticed and insolent: ever supercilious, and now contemptibly arrogant, affected an air of greatness, and frowned disapprobation on kings, treated Galen with contempt, no longer thought of supplying hospitals with bandages, but prescribed for the *constitution*, proposed styptics to heal its wounds, and wished, like another Sa-cheverel, to see my comely portrait grace the bottom of an old-maid's urinal:" all which being so prettily told, so strictly decent, and so important to the public, what pity it is that I cannot acquiesce in the truth of things that would do me so much honour!

This gentleman-like writer now says, "the doctor had his wish: he became popular; if to be known for a libeller of the king, and despised as a traducer of the revolution, can be deemed popularity." Now, it so happens that I was not accused of libelling the king, or of traducing the revolution, but of writing a sixth letter to the people of England, and therefore I could neither be found guilty of, nor known for, either of those offences: nor did I become popular on these, or on any other accounts. And yet, the *first* of them, alone, hath since sufficed to make *one* man the most popular, and the most signal patriot of the age. He continues: "and thus, pointed at by the rabble, disdained by men of sense, and execrated by every friend to the family on the throne, I was a proper subject for ministers like the present to pension, to patronize, and to employ." Among the men of sense, will this
writer

writer presume to count himself, who in every line gives demonstration that he must be eminent among the rabble: or among the friends of the family on the throne, whose allegiance expired with the late king: if we may judge from his silence respecting his present sovereign, and his sarcasm on the ministers?

These ministers, I find, are as reprobate as myself. And, as *similes similibus gaudent*, I expect they will improve their patronage of me. For can it be consistent, either with honour or conscience, to suffer me to be traduced, as magnificently as if I were a lord of the treasury at least, for so small a sum as two hundred a year? if this circumstance be not duly regarded, to be calumniated can no longer be esteemed the inseparable characteristic of a great man. For their own sakes, therefore, I humbly hope that they will exalt me, not in this writer's way, that I may approach more nearly to their height; and that no further disgrace be brought on their greatness, by a liberality of malediction on a person so inferior as I am, both in rank and profit, and such as would do honour to a secondary, if not a prime minister. As to the affair of my employment, this gentleman and a multiplicity of others, by their judicious treatment of his majesty and his ministers, the propriety of their representations, the truth of their assertions, the force of their arguments, the wit and satire of their publications, have driven the band of pensioners quite out of the field; rendered all writing on the side of administration unnecessary; and produced the very effects which were diametrically opposite to their intention. Have they not evinced, in a manner that can require no answer, that his majesty is an arrant Jacobite, and is now actually preparing to
surrender

surrender his crowns, kingdoms, and dominions to the pretender : that in order to facilitate this wonderful revolution, he is now, by all possible means, endeavouring to bring popery ding dong into this realm ; to establish the mass by bell, book and candle, and within six weeks to rekindle the fires in Smithfield ; that the archbishops and bishops, who protest against the popish religion, and the ministers who protest against all religions, are united heart and hand in this idolatrous design. That, by assenting to a statute enacted for the establishment of a legislature, in Canada, according to the request of the subjects in that province, his majesty hath violated his coronation oath, in which he swears to govern according to the statutes of this realm ; and that by thus acting, according to this request of the Canadians, he hath made them all slaves, they and their progeny for ever.

In like manner have they not proved, that his majesty hath most egregiously infringed the first article of Magna Charta, in which it is said, “ the church of England shall be free, enjoy all her rights entire, and her liberties unhurt.” That this infraction is accomplished by permitting the Canadians to enjoy the religion in which they were bred, which was granted them on the capitulation at Quebec, and is that very religion, which alone existed in England, when, for the preservation of the church, this very Magna Charta was made ? all which things are proved in a manner so convincing, that nothing remains to be written against them that can add vigour to the effects they have produced in the minds of all men of common understandings. By these means are we
not

not supplanted, and they become the minister's best friends? And, if the effect may be divided from the cause, are they not the properest objects for being pensioned? But alas! such are the sublime and disinterested sentiments of their souls, and such their animosity to corruption, that the thought of forsaking patriotism for pence, can find no entrance into such pure and constitutional bosoms.

Naturalists have remarked that, of all animals, a hog is the least formed for swimming: and whenever he presumes to undertake it, that from his want of skill in that exercise, he cuts his throat by the misapplication of his fore-feet; perishes in the presumption; is given to the dogs; and men are deprived of many a good ham and flitch of bacon. This animal I take to be the archetype of the present antiministerial writers. For, by having engaged the right hoof in that task, to which, by nature, they are unequal, they have cut their own throats; are become carrion; stink in the nostrils of all honest men; are food only for the hounds of modern patriots; and the world is thereby robbed of many a stout ploughman and nimble taylor.

On this account, I humbly intreat that the patriotic gentlemen, who have the interest of poor old England so much at heart, and find their present penmen so absolutely incorrigible, will withhold them from these acts of suicide, and hire some able-headed writer, to publish something clever against the ministry. And I wish it might contain a plentiful sprinkling of point, epigram, and antithesis, dressed in sublime diction, adorned with the blooming flowers of rhetoric, and animated by a strut of important style, raising private events
into

into public mischiefs, converting meritorious characters into the destroyers of their country, and the vilest of men into the most disinterested defenders of the constitution, and the friends of liberty. Unless this be speedily done, I greatly apprehend that we poor pensioners must, through mere policy, be obliged to write against the ministers, in order to produce a calumny that may be worthy of a reply; and thereby to preserve ourselves in some degree of consideration with those at the head of public affairs.

The gentleman, having exerted his amazing talents on me, proceeds to a second exercise of them, on my son, and says, "John Shebbeare, the son of the former, was designed for an attorney's office, where he might have cut a figure;"—and thus, this gentleman proves himself to be as great a conjuror as he is a writer. For he not only discovers my designs; but pronounces for what my son is fit, without information of the former, or experience of the latter. He persists: "at the instigation, if not at the expence of Dr. Wilson, he was sent to Oxford, to learn Jacobitism, under the famous Dr. King, and to preach up obedience, for conscience sake, to the *de facto* king on the throne." It is time enough to answer the *if*, when it is asserted as a fact; in the mean while, neither I nor my son have the least inclination to disown the favours we have received from Dr. Wilson: whatever they were, we accepted them with due acknowledgement, and remember them with gratitude. But if my son were sent to learn Jacobitism at Oxford, he egregiously misapplied his time; even according to the opinion of this able writer. For it has been hitherto thought, that Jacobites are taught obedience,

for *conscience* sake, to a king *de jure*. But, it seems, my son learnt to preach obedience, for *conscience* sake, to a king *de facto*. Which is just as sensible as to say, that, being bound an apprentice to a shoe-maker, he learnt his trade by making hob-nails. Now it so happens that he is convinced that our sovereign on the throne is king *de jure*, as well as *de facto*. Does not this circumstance fully evince how admirably this gentleman is qualified to write on political subjects?

He continues; “happily, this young man’s
 “ parts not rising above mediocrity, he has neither
 “ disgraced the kingdom nor himself, by any pub-
 “ lication in the literary way.” I am obliged to
 the gentleman for his civility: and am heartily
 sorry I cannot return him the compliment, respect-
 ing *his* parts and *his* publications. However, it
 seems, “Dr. Wilson employed this son of mine to
 “ prove, for the satisfaction of the conscientious,
 “ that a stained-glass window might be set up over
 “ the altar-piece of St. Margaret’s church, with-
 “ out an idolatrous intention. This proof, worked
 “ up into a pamphlet, was soon found on stalls;
 “ for even the singing boys thought it a despicable
 “ composition.” The most striking part of this
 paragraph is its consistency with the former. For,
 it seems, “the *young man*, who had not disgraced
 “ himself by any literary publication,” had, ne-
 vertheless, disgraced himself by publishing a com-
 position too despicable for the approbation of the
 singing boys, who, as they are, undoubtedly, most
 excellent judges, ought to be deemed of great
 weight in literary subjects. It appears, how-
 ever, from this circumstance of the singing boys,
 that this discerning writer hath mistaken St. Mar-
 garet’s church for Westminster-Abbey: for to the
 latter,

latter, I conceive, the singing boys belong. "The *proof*, however, was worked up into a *pamphlet*," which passage, had it been written by a man of common understanding *only*, would have been, the *pamphlet* worked up into a *proof*, "was soon found "on stalls;" where it will be in vain to look for the incomparable publications of this gentleman. They have received their proper application, have discharged their duty, and are sunk to that place of repose, which is destined for all such useful performances.

Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow :
He that would seek for *pearls* must dive *below*.

The gentleman proceeds: "the young man, "quitting all further attempts to book-making, "took orders, swallowed the whole thirty-nine, "and blessed himself to think, that what stuck in "other people's throats, the capaciousness of his "thorax could digest, without a single palliative: "and as the father commenced politician, so the "son commenced theologian, through necessity." As to the "book-making," I shall say nothing: but, if this description of this young man be to be relied on, he must be of as singular a conformation in his bodily, as in his mental parts. First, he has swallowed the whole thirty-nine *orders*. Till now, I never heard of more than *two*; priests and deacons. In the writings of almost any other scribe, it might have been imagined, that he had mistaken orders for *articles*. But in him who talks of the thorax as the place of digestion, can it be less than share ignorance? however, it seems, this young man is the only clergyman, in whose throat these thirty-nine *orders* did not stick, which seems

to be somewhat surprising, since so many thousands are now walking about, all alive, unchoaked by them. Be that as it may: they were cleverly swallowed into his capacious *thorax*. Till now, it has been thought that the throat led into the *stomach*; but, in my young man, it leads into the *thorax*, where, it seems, they are digested, without "palliatives." Hence it is clear, that my son has his stomach where others have their lungs, and his lungs where others have their stomachs; or that the stomach is placed in the *thorax* together with the lungs. As this is the only true and genuine formation of a church of England divine; as my young man is the only person so formed; and he alone has swallowed the whole thirty-nine *orders*, and blessed himself that they did not stick in his throat, why are the ministry so blind to such singular qualifications? why do they not make him a *dean* at least to begin with? is not this amazing neglect of advancing the only man who is truly formed to be *every thing* in the church of England, a most convincing proof, and the only one I wish to have removed, that his majesty and his ministers are rank papists. For to what other reasons can it be imputed, that the only man in the kingdom, so truly, so ecclesiastically, and so canonically formed, should remain without preferment? And is not this the first time that palliatives have been said to digest? Will it not prove an embarrassing subject, to decide whether this gentleman be more incomparable as a divine, an anatomist, a physician, or a writer? and, let me tell him, if *necessity* made me a politician, and the young man a *theologue*, as he calls him, we have much to offer in our behalf, from being compelled by so irresistible a cause.

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The gentleman now returns to me : “ the success of the one, however, involved in it the prosperity of the other.” Being found guilty of a libel, standing on the pillory, three years imprisonment and a fine seem to be but an odd success on my side. However, it involved in it the prosperity of my young man. I have heard it said, “ happy is the child whose father goes to the devil ;” but I never heard, till now, that the same good fortune attends the children of those who stand on the pillory, yet I hope it will prove true. However, the writer may take the hint, be equally successful, and involve in it the prosperity of his own progeny, by the like means. The holes are open to him. He now adds, “ for as old Shebeare exhibited his bronzed phyz through the hole of a pillory, as he was elevated on a wooden rostrum, he gained admirers (as culprits at the gallows gain pity) from the beholders.” Now, as I was not the maker of my own phyz, by what means could I prevent its qualities? I exhibited the best face, and the best apparel I had ; and I was attended with good company. And, if I gained admirers, I see no occasion for exhibiting a better. As to the comparison of pity and the gallows, I would advise this writer to reserve the latter for himself, as the only means by which he can obtain the former. “ Amongst these beholders,” as he says, “ some of them complimented my sapient son with a valuable church living.” Now it so happens, that this living was presented by a lady, as guardian to her two granddaughters ; the first of these was then in Lancashire, and the children were then unborn. On this account, I humbly presume that neither of them could

could have been my beholder on that day of exaltation.

And now says this incomparable scribe, "if the reader's indignation is excited, by the conduct of the former, that indignation should be a little softened, out of pity to the latter, who has some virtues." I am glad he acknowledges that. But why, then has he abused him, without provocation? he then adds, "but what virtues either of them may possess are almost totally eclipsed by an immoderate share of vanity?" and thus, it seems, that I have some virtues also. But what is this immoderate share of vanity? it is that, "those who know the family can bear witness, that it was no uncommon thing (after the doctor's exaltation on the pillory) for them to boast, that they were of French extraction, and allied, by the grandmother's side, to some of the antient kings of France." As this gentleman seems to be the very quintessence of truth, it cannot be doubted that he knows somebody, who knows the family, who can bear witness to the preceding circumstance. But it is all news to me. For I am and ever shall be too much an Englishman, to entertain the vanity of being thought of French extraction. Unless, it can be proved, that I am descended from his most christian majesty. Then, indeed, *my* loving cousin, the king of France, may recommend me to *his* loving cousin, the king of Great-Britain, and some advantage may be derived from my consanguinity. However, I am more than suspicious, that my pedigree cannot *bear witness* to this *descent*, the most extraordinary, I believe, that has ever been known. It is that I am allied, by *the* grandmother's side, to some of the antient kings of France. Till this
time,

time, I always imagined that, like other men, I had a father and mother, and that each of them had a father and mother also; and therefore that I must have had *two* grandmothers. But it seems I have been constantly mistaken. For I am descended directly from *one* only, *the* grandmother, and allied, by her side, to the kings of France. And hereby it should seem that this alliance was not continued, like that of other men, through a father and mother. I confess it puzzles me much to explain, by what method of procreation I can have had but *one* grandmother; or, without parents, even so much as one. And if I had a father and mother, how one woman can be *the* grandmother of both of them, unless mine were brother and sister, which, I believe, they were not. This story, of the grandmother and my descent, would, I imagine, puzzle the whole college of heralds; not only to ascertain *the* grandmother, but also to exemplify, by any method now in use, my alliance to the French monarchs, without the intervention of two parents. As this boast did not take place till after my exaltation on the pillory, it would seem as if I obtained this high alliance by *ascent*, and not by *descent*. And that, when my body was raised above the heads of the people, my blood, also, was exalted above theirs, into blood-royal. But, this gentleman being the sole herald of this descent, he must explain it, or it will never be understood.

“ Such,” says this worthy writer, “is Dr. Shebbeare: such is the rev. John Shebbeare, his son:” and then I readily allow, that *he* is, in conformation of body, and that *I* am, in genealogical descent, not to be equalled in the universe.

A thousand

A thousand such papers would have been applied to their proper use, unnoticed by me, as a multiplicity of that kind had already been, but on the 10th of August, the following letter appeared in the Public Ledger.

For the Public Ledger.

To Doctor Shebbeare.

Sir,

As you seem disposed, by candour, to answer every question which may be asked with good-nature, I think it the proper time to propound the following queries :

1. Did you not, many years ago, solicit subscriptions for an history of England, which you engaged to finish, and declared was then in great forwardness ?

2. Did you not receive subscriptions for this said history, to a very considerable amount ?

3. Has the work (which so many years ago was in great forwardness) ever yet appeared in print ?

4. Had you at the time you received the subscriptions the smallest intention that it should ; have you at this instant the smallest intention that it shall ever be published ?

5. Ought you not, in common honesty, to return the money to the subscribers ; or in common honour to discharge the conditional obligation for which you received it ?

6. If you do neither of these, have we any occasion to search the records to prove your infamy ? must we look to the pillory for the best whole-length picture of the man ; to his public conduct for the best miniature of his moral turpitude ?

7. In

7. In case of your death have you deputed your son to return the subscribers their money ; or is he to write the history his father was paid before-hand for undertaking ? an history from yourself would be dull enough in all conscience ; an history from your son would be a scald-miserable production indeed !

8. For what did lord Bute procure you a pension ? for the punctual performance of your promise, or for the scandalous personal abuse you cast on his late majesty ? if you keep your word with government no better than with your subscribers, administration, if they thought of purchasing your honour, were most confoundedly taken in.

9. With what shadow of reason can you complain of being treated “with ill manners in the “ ledger,” when you have been set upon, though not in the pillory, for villifying your sovereign in the grossest terms ?

10. Instead of reviewing the writings of other men, would not your time be more properly employed in a review of your actions, and a preparation for the grave, to which you are now most visibly hastening ?

11. Will it not be very complaisant in you to answer such of these queries as relative to the subscription money received for your “history of “ England ?”

A Subscriber.

In my answer to A. M's letter, I say, “this
“precaution, however, I think fit to give the
“editors of those papers, to whom Mr. A. M.
“has already transmitted his letters, that they in-
“sert nothing under that signature, which they
“have not actually received. And to this I am

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“induced

“ induced by two reasons. First, that those who
 “ have shewn themselves so cordially disposed to
 “ treat me with ill manners, may not lay hold
 “ on this occasion to indulge their slander under
 “ that signature. And secondly, that Mr. A. M.
 “ may have nothing imputed to his charge which
 “ he has not written: nor I have any thing to an-
 “ swer which proceeds not from that person. And
 “ I shall be under no apprehension of not dis-
 “ proving all that he can adduce, and of not satis-
 “ fying the public that the whole which he hath
 “ asserted, in his letter, is a futile tale and a
 “ groundless accusation.”

From the preceding passage, it appears that this
 correspondent of mine has taken occasion to say,
 in the introduction to the queries, “as you seem
 “ disposed, by candour, to answer every question
 “ which may be asked with good-nature,” &c. and
 from hence has thought proper to take up a passage
 of the first paper in the ledger, where it is said, I
 have received subscriptions for an history of Eng-
 land, which, to this hour, has never been published.
 He then assumes the signature of “a subscriber,”
 and with good nature, as he avers, propounds
 the antecedent queries. It does not to me appear
 on what grounds he can conclude that, because I
 had limited the ill manners and slander, with which
 I might be treated, to the subjects solely of papers,
 under the signature of A. M. that therefore I
 seem disposed to answer every question, which may
 be asked, under every other. Might not the person,
 to whom I had lent my furtout, have as reasonably
 laid claim to the use of all the clothes I possess?
 and how the queries, which he asks, can be deem-
 ed to proceed from *good-nature*, is past my con-
 ception.

I will

I will now give both distinct and faithful answers to every query.

Query 1st, Did you not, many years ago, solicit subscriptions for an history of England, which you engaged to finish, and declared was then in great forwardness? — Answer, I did solicit such subscriptions, for a first volume of an history of England, but not in the manner you represent it, in your first paper, as preceding my imprisonment: it was after I was confined in the King's Bench. I engaged to finish it; but I never declared that it was in great forwardness, because it was not then begun.

Q. 2d, Did you not receive subscriptions to a very considerable amount? — A. Not sufficient to pay for paper and printing. And, as a specimen of what I received from those who, I thought, were the most likely to promote it, the subscriptions from the lords and gentlemen of the Cocoa-tree amounted but to seventeen guineas. But the smallness of this sum is, by no means, offered as an excuse for the delay in printing it.

Q. 3d, Has the work (which so many years ago was in great forwardness) ever yet appeared in print? — A. The work was never said to be in great forwardness, nor has it yet appeared in print.

Q. 4th, Had you, at the time you received the subscriptions, the smallest intention that it should? have you, at this instant, the smallest intention that it shall ever be published? — A. The first receipts which were delivered, were for a first volume of an history of England, from the revolution to the present time. But, at the persuasion of my friends, I was induced to alter my design; and

receipts were issued for a first volume of the history of England, and of the constitution thereof, from its origin to the present time. That volume I wrote, and had it transcribed, whilst I was in prison: it is now in my possession. Of every receipt I delivered to my friends, to be disposed of, and of every guinea (the terms of the subscription) I received, a regular account was kept, which I now have. Both of these shall be open to the inspection of the writer of these queries, if he be in fact a subscriber; and of every other who may chuse to receive such satisfaction. Is it not therefore too manifest to be denied, that at the time I proposed to write this history, that I intended the publication of it? with what other imaginable design could I have given myself the pains of writing it? and although many circumstances of a private and domestic nature must be included in the subsequent exculpation of myself, which few are willing to relate; yet I will postpone that and every other consideration for the sake of truth, and the preservation of my integrity. I will, therefore, without disguise or reservation, candidly assign my reasons for the delay in printing; and declare my present intentions.

A few days before my being tried, for writing the sixth letter to the people of England, the dutchess of Queensbury, with great justice, obtained an injunction, to stop the publishing of the continuation of lord Clarendon's history, which I had printed, and advertised, in consequence of a written agreement, between Francis Gwynn, esq; and me. In this agreement it was specified that I should be at the expence of paper, printing, and all others, and then that the profit of the work should

should be equally divided between us. In this obligation, that worthy squire declares himself to be justly entitled to the manuscript from which it was printed : notwithstanding which, as it afterwards appeared, this very manuscript had been surreptitiously obtained. Great part of the money for printing it had been paid by me ; and it was not till six years after the injunction was obtained, that the cause was heard, in the court of King's Bench, before lord Mansfield ; when, I obtained a verdict, for all the expences incurred by printing the preceding work, amounting to more than five hundred pounds. Of that sum, almost one half had been wasted, on my side, in the courts of chancery and law. During my confinement, I never received, as presents, more than twenty guineas, from all the world. And it may easily be imagined, that my circumstances were not improved by three year's imprisonment. I had no club of partisans, to maintain me during that time ; to discharge my debts ; nor even the fine, which I was obliged to pay, after a three year's confinement, for a single offence. Notwithstanding the difficulties which inevitably arose from these particulars, and although an insolvent act was passed, soon after his majesty's accession to the throne, and my circumstances might have apologized for my taking that opportunity which it offered ; I, nevertheless, declined from availing myself of that occasion, to evade the payment of my debts. I preferred the labour of endeavouring to pay them, and the risk of being again imprisoned if I did not succeed. But thank heaven I am in no danger of a second imprisonment on that account. And this disinclination to avail myself
of

of the preceding means, will, I hope, be received as some proof, as I am not disposed to free myself, without *payment*, from the demands of *money*, by *methods* which that act *allowed*, that I am *not* inclined to *acquire it* by *fraudulent* measures.

As it was impracticable, whilst I was in confinement, to procure that variety of books; or to apply to manuscript authorities, for all that was requisite to the completing of this first volume, I found, on being released from my imprisonment; and on application to the former only, that the volume, which I had written, was incorrect, insufficient, and erroneous, in too many particulars, to admit of its being published, without injustice to my subscribers, and reprehensions on myself. Into this displeasing situation I had been misled, by relying on the authorities of modern historians, who pretend to cite the authors from whence their materials are taken, many of whom appear never to have seen them; but implicitly to have copied one another, and all of them manifestly defective; not only in the authorities they should have sought, but in their omissions and misrepresentations of those whom they had consulted: more especially respecting those parts of the old German codes, on which our constitution is erected, and without which, it cannot be properly explained or understood. Such being the real situation of things, I perceived that more time than I could expect to live would be necessarily required, for so extensive a work, as the whole history I had proposed; and that a single volume, or even a few volumes of an history incomplete, would, by no means, answer either the intention of my subscribers, or my own. I determined, therefore, to change my plan,
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and to include, in one volume, that which might require no others to compleat this new design.

From the day I left the King's Bench prison to the present, I declined all solicitation of subscriptions: and, although by much the greatest part of the receipts I issued are not returned, nor the money which answers to them. I never have enquired, by letter or otherwise, what was the event of them; nor have I received more than eleven guineas, the last of which was so long since as the 8th of March, 1763. And this I am ready to prove, by the book, in which are entered all the receipts I ever distributed, and every guinea I have received.

In consequence of this alteration, I resolved to exert my best abilities, not only to trace the constitution of England from its origin, in the woods of Germany, as Monsieur De Montesquieu expresses it, but from the first principles in human nature, from which the formation of all kinds of government is derived. With this view I have attempted an analyzation of the mental and corporeal faculties, in order to shew in what manner they reciprocally influence each other in the various actions of man, not only as an individual, but as a gregarious being, impelled by nature to associate in communities. From hence I have attempted to delineate, in what manner legislature sprang and proceeded from its source, through that variety of meanders, which it hath formed in its current, both before and since the introduction of one common sign, whereby to express the intrinsic value, not only of all the productions of nature and of art, but even of the human faculties, as they are now estimated. To compare the constitutions of those different states, which have been, and are the most celebrated in
ancient

ancient and modern history, with each other, and with that of England; and then to derive some reasonable grounds for the determination of that which seems to be the most consentaneous with the primogenial institutes of nature, and the happiness of human kind. In consequence of this intent, the manners that successively arose and prevailed in such states, the benefits and mischiefs which ensued from them, are delineated, in order to explain on what foundation the welfare of national communities may most probably be established.

But from the inevitable obligations, not only of supporting my own family, but those, also, whom, as son and brother, it was my duty to sustain for forty years; and which, respecting the claims of the latter, still continues, it will be easily discerned, that many an avocation must have proceeded from these circumstances, as well as from a sense of gratitude to his majesty, in defence of whose government, I have thought it my duty occasionally to exert my best abilities. These truths will, I hope, offer a reasonable apology for the retardment of the publication.

In this last design, however, laborious and difficult as it is, I have advanced to a considerable degree: and this manuscript I am, at all times, ready to produce as an indubitable evidence of the truth of what I declare. This work I shall now finish, with all practicable expedition. To the completion of it, I shall now consign my remaining days, yet not so invariably, as to neglect my duty of writing in other respects. And, thank heaven! I am neither so advanced in age, or reduced by infirmities, as to create a reasonable suspicion that I may not live longer than to finish it. Such is my answer to this injurious query; in
which

which I am treated as a felon, who has violated the laws, by obtaining money under false pretences.

Q. 5th, Ought you not, in common honesty, to return the money to the subscribers, or, in common honour, to discharge the conditional obligation, for which you received it?—A. Undoubtedly, I ought to perform the former, if I do not execute the latter. This, I have shewn, I have long been, and am now engaged in. No time was ever fixed, for the delivery of the books; and therefore I cannot have exceeded any engagement. And there are various instances, of which one is very recent, that of a gentleman, who has constantly received subscriptions, for a time much more considerable, than that between my receiving the first subscription and this day, who has honourably discharged the obligation. And, from a like behaviour, nothing but death shall prevent me also.

Q. 6th, If you do neither of these, have we any occasion to search the records, to prove your infamy? must we look to the pillory, for the best whole-length picture of the man; to his public conduct, for the best miniature of his moral turpitude? — A. What I have done, and shall do, respecting *either* of these, I have already declared, in my answer to the preceding query. And, thus, you must search the records, to prove what you call my infamy, for it cannot be proved by what you say. But remember, it is not the *scaffold*, but the *crime*, that constitutes the *infamy* of punishment. Take my whole-length picture from the pillory, if you like it; and the miniature, also, from the moral turpitude of my public conduct, as you call it: for know, that although that conduct

duſt were illegal, it was not immoral. Unleſs to deliver ſuch truths, as have never been controverted, in defence of the rights and liberties of my native country, be an immoral act. The laws, indeed, may make *truth* a *libel* ; but can they alter the nature of things, and make that a moral turpitude, which as ſubjects of this kingdom we ought to perform ? Review this query. And, if you are ſuſceptible of the leaſt ſenſation of an honeſt heart, place yourſelf, a volunteer, on the pillory ; and prove, at leaſt, as you are capable of the infamous act, of wantonly invading the character of an honeſt man ; that, conſcious of this moral turpitude in yourſelf, and of the libellous calumny of your queries, you can repent as well as tranſgreſs ; and, by that act of morality, at once do juſtice to me, by doing juſtice on yourſelf.

Q. 7th, In caſe of your death, have you deputed your ſon, to return the ſubſcribers their money ? or is he to write the hiſtory his father was paid beforehand for undertaking ? an hiſtory from yourſelf would be dull enough in all conſcience : an hiſtory from your ſon would be a ſcald-miſerable production indeed ! — A. I have, already, told you, I do not intend to die till what I propoſe be finiſhed. If I do, care ſhall be taken reſpecting what you aſk. And, if you chuſe a farther ſatisfaction, let me have the pleaſure of ſeeing your *good-natured face*, and you ſhall receive that which ſhall content you. But what right, under the term *ſubſcriber*, even with your real name annexed, can you have to treat my *ſon* in ſo illiberal a manner ? or even me, unleſs you had firſt enquired the reaſons why the hiſtory was not publiſhed ? had you forged a ſubſcription to a draft for five pounds, you had merited a halter by the laws.

But

But have not you invented a new kind of forgery, more injurious than the former, by assuming that term to which you are not entitled, and which is infinitely more deserving a public punishment? for who exists and deserves the name of man, that does not estimate his character beyond his money! therefore altho' the laws cannot commit you to the hands of the public executioner, yet justice would, for this unprovoked and audacious invasion of my character. But if you be a real subscriber, declare your name, live not beneath the guilt of so foul a forgery, repent of the iniquitous intention to purloin that which *is the immediate jewel of our souls.*

As to the merit of my writings and my sons, these shall speak for themselves. If they possess no merit, you can neither impart it, by your applause, nor, if they do, deprive them of it, by your defamation.

Q. 8th, For what did lord Bute procure you a pension? for the punctual performance of your promise? or for the scandalous personal abuse you cast on his late majesty? if you keep your word with government no better than with your subscribers, administration, if they thought of purchasing your honour, were most confoundedly taken in.—A. It was not by the means of lord Bute that my pension was procured. At the time it was bestowed on me, Mr. Grenville was minister. It was Sir John Philips who interested himself in my favour; and, on his personal application to the king, his majesty was pleased to speak of me in terms too favourable for me to repeat; but which I will, undeviatingly, endeavour to deserve, by allegiance and by gratitude. I say not this, with the least intent to insinuate that I entertain

the slightest suspicion, had his lordship been then the minister, that he would have opposed his majesty's bounty towards me. Neither have I ever united, nor will unite, in the malicious, unrelenting and unmerited pursuit of that nobleman. For, by fixing the magistracy of the judges during life, by limiting the civil list to 800,000*l.* per *annum*, by reducing the profusion of the household expences, and by concluding a war, of which a two years farther continuance, would, in all probability, have bankrupted this nation, he proved, that he entered on the ministry with a sincere intention of serving, and did serve his country. But such was the enormous parliamentary corruption, which the whigs had begun, and cherished, from the revolution to his majesty's accession to the throne, that, had a bill been then proposed, in the commons, for their admission into the celestial mansions, the majority of them would not have given their votes, without being paid, for this salvation of their own souls.

That peace, which his enemies have so scandalously decried, is now proved to be of infinite advantage to this kingdom. On that peace the present ministry have formed that act, which, according to the opinions of the most celebrated writers on the polity and government of nations, is the most just, judicious, and requisite, that a conquering state can institute; since nothing can acquire and preserve the allegiance of new subjects, so effectually as permitting them to remain in the secure enjoyment of their religion and laws, the former of which was stipulated on the capitulation at Quebec. That act has not only fixed the fidelity of those Canadians to their new king; it has established also an ample and sufficient force to quell the democratic spirits of the American

rican sectaries; in whom rebellion is as naturally inherent, as aliment in food; and who will as certainly manifest their regicide dispositions, on all occasions that may offer, as plants will germinate in the vernal season. As to your *ifs*, they shall be answered, when you can prove there is the least ground for asking them.

Q. 9th, With what shadow of reason, can you complain of being treated with ill manners, in the ledger, when you have been set upon, though not in the pillory, for abusing your sovereign, in the grossest terms?—A. And thus, it seems, you conclude that, because I have been set on the pillory, for a libel, I have no shadow of reason to complain of your effrontery, when you treat me as a felon. Would it not be just as sensible in you to have concluded that, on having been obliged to live one day without food, I could have no shadow of reason to complain, if it was constantly denied me? as to the abuse of the late king, I have already answered that part of your query.

Q. 10th, Instead of reviewing the writings of other men, would not your time be more properly employed in a review of your own actions, and a preparation for the grave, to which you are now most visibly hastening?—A. With respect to the reviewing of other men's writings, I am not now engaged in that office; nor ever was I, longer than three months: and even that was more than six years since. As to the reviewing of my actions, that cannot be your concern. And if your own be as detestable, as your heart is evidently black, from these queries; take the hint of reviewing and repenting of them also: lest it be, otherwise, your fate never to descend to a grave
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of christian burial. For, after this unprovoked design, in disguise to stab my integrity, can it be a wonder, if you become a real assassin, are hanged at Tyburn; given to the surgeons for dissection; and your skeleton exhibited in a glass case, with this motto, *pessimorum pessimus*.

Q. 11th, Will it not be very complaisant in you, to answer such of these queries, as relate to the subscription money, received for your history of England?—A. I have been more than *very* complaisant: I have answered all the queries. And, I flatter myself, to the satisfaction of all men, that I am not the villain you would make me; and that I have proved that you deserve that detestation which you intended to heap on me.

Such are my answers to the preceding queries. In these, he has compelled me to relate many things, which men in general would wish to avoid, the laying before the public: but in none have I deviated from truth. And I doubt not, that the disapprobation of so malignant and so unprovoked an attack on my character, will prove to be the general sentiment of those who may read this answer.

As I have now both fully and candidly answered the queries which this subscriber pronounced with such signal *good nature*, I shall, in my turn, presume to ask him a like number; and call on him for answers.

Query 1. Had you received the education of an apothecary, which you affect to deride, would you have talked of *styptics* to *beal*, of *bandages* being *sold* by *apothecaries*, and of *urinals* as utensils for women. Would not you have known that the throat does not lead into the thorax; that the
thorax

thorax is not the stomach ; and therefore does not digest ; and would not that *breeding* have prevented you from the disgrace of exposing yourself by such egregious ignorance ?

Q. 2. How came *you* to conceive that *asses* cannot *bray* ? are you void of all *vocal* utterance, or so *deaf* that you cannot *bear* yourself ?

Q. 3. Can your education have exceeded that of a drayman, who have mistaken the *two* sacerdotal *orders* for the *thirty nine articles* of the church of England ? are you not endowed with most consummate effrontery to accuse a man of being bred a Jacobite : you, who do not understand the difference, between *de jure*, and *de facto*, as applied to kings ? or can you be the least judge of literary performances, who have not ideas to the words you use ?

Q. 4. What right, or what provocation have you to recall the punishment I suffered, or repeatedly to expose me in the Public Ledger, before the eyes of all the British subjects, as standing on the pillory, sixteen years after I had attoned for the offence ?

Q. 5. Are you not the very libeller, which in me you so much condemn ? do you not deserve that punishment, which, as you say, is, to a virtuous character, worse than death ? have you in your queries afforded the minutest hint that you are actuated by one spark of virtue, sense, or good manners ?

Q. 6. In what passages of my writings is the late king treated with *foul abuse* ; or the revolution traduced ? are you not one of that traiterous gang that is eternally insulting his present majesty with the most flagrant libels ?

Q. 7.

Q. 7. Were you really a subscriber, what plausible motive could you have had to treat me publicly as a felon, acquiring money under false pretences, without having previously applied to me for answers to the subject of your queries? have you not assumed the signature, without being a subscriber, in order to fabricate a pretext for proposing to me your illiberal questions? will you dare to affix your name to them? if you refuse it, are you not avowedly guilty of a forgery, inexpressibly more criminal, than that of subscribing another man's name to a bill, with a view fraudulently to obtain money from the person on whom it is drawn? is not integrity more valuable than riches? in justice do you not more truly deserve to die by the hands of the common hangman, for thus endeavouring to rob me of my good name, than if you had been seized in burglariously breaking into my house?

Q. 8. Would not you, who have thus insidiously laboured to stab my reputation, have as willingly assassinated me, could you have accomplished it with the like concealment and impunity?

Q. 9. Is not this act of causelessly invading my reputation an infamy which ought to be branded on your forehead, as a stigma to warn mankind from associating with so malicious and so black a man?

Q. 10. Ought you not to be expelled the society of all estimable men, as a *being* pestilential to the community?

Q. 11. Will it not be as complaisant in you, is it not as indispensably your duty to answer these queries, and to subscribe your real name, as it was mine to answer yours, and affix my name to that answer? unless you comply with these particulars,
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do you not stand self-condemned, and deserve the universal detestation of mankind ?

I shall now leave you to ruminate on what I have written, and to do justice to yourself, by answering, if you can; if not to me, by a full acknowledgement of your flagitious treatment. In the mean while, I shall take this opportunity of advertising the publishers of the ledger, and of all other papers, that I will no longer be tamely taken up by them, like an odd man, among the chairmen, when no other is at hand, to supply paragraphs of defamation, and fill the measure of their scurrility, when no other subject can be found.

Whatever were my offence, I neither fled from the sentence of the court, nor have I, from that day to this hour, either in words or writing, attempted to asperse the character, or arraign the justice of that judge and jury by whom I was tried and found guilty. I knew that greater punishments were not unprecedented : and mine I bore without complaining. I was soon convinced that nothing of a cruel or vindictive spirit possessed lord Mansfield against me. For when my life was in danger, from an ill state of health, and I applied to the court of King's-Bench, for permission to be carried into the rules, a few hours in the day, his lordship readily acceded to that petition. This judge Foster pertinaciously denied and defeated. Even since the time when the celebrated patriot of the London livery was sentenced, but to two years imprisonment, and a fine which, to *him*, was nothing, for one offence against the government, and three against religion, I neither did then, nor do I now complain of the apparent disparity of offence and infliction between us. It was his peculiar happiness to be tried, found guilty, and

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sentenced

sentenced in the reign of our present sovereign, to whom his enemies have imputed even *mercy* as a crime.

Is it not natural to imagine that the being exposed on the pillory, three years close confinement within the walls of a prison, together with a fine, might have been deemed a punishment adequate to the transgression; and sufficient to satisfy the vindictive spirit, even of Whigs, and Presbyterians: more especially, as no man among them has hitherto been able to discover, that what I wrote, and for which I suffered, was either false, malicious, or seditious? Nor did it relate to the private actions of any man, but to the public and national proceedings of ministers, with which the people have a claim to be acquainted, when they are destructive of their happiness and welfare. And I may aver, with the strictest veracity, that the letters which were written to the people of England, contributed not a little towards creating the popularity, and thereby to the elevation of lord Chatham to the seat of prime minister. To him, his enemies acknowledge this nation is indebted; for the happy change of their affairs, on his admission to the conduct of them. Why then are my endeavours, to that end, entirely buried in oblivion; my offence and my punishment incessantly remembered?

Even against the discarded ministers, who so relentlessly pursued me, I never have complained. Men in power, place, and profit, are naturally vindictive, and feel the loss of them with inexpressible resentment; and not the less, because the allegations which are brought against them are indisputably true. Such being the conditions of their being men, whatever were my sufferings, however severely they were inflicted, I have, at no
time,

time, since the day of my commitment to prison, written one word against them. They are now dead, and peace be to their manes.

It is lord Chatham only of whom I have reason to complain; who having profited by my writings, and having publickly declared, that he avowed the truth of all that they contained; in return for my endeavours to serve him, after he was mounted above the throne, and possessed of absolute power, not only permitted me to be punished for writing words, less offensive than he had repeatedly spoken in the house of commons; but even ill treated Sir John Philipps, who applied to him in my favour.

Such being the true state, respecting me and my punishment, on what pretext, after the expiration of sixteen years, from the time of my offence, am I to be thus undeservedly treated by those whose talents arise not to the knowledge either of the subject, or the language in which they write; who in ambuscade so insidiously attack me on all occasions? why is my transgression never to be forgotten, and my punishment to know no bounds? why do they return to old transactions for new abuse; and continually expose me on the pillory for that which I have already attoned by my sufferings? for, is it not as equally a punishment to be exposed in news-papers to the millions of my fellow-subjects, as at Charing-Cross, to a few hundreds? and would not these remorseless miscreants, who thus treat my name in their publications, as readily bring me in person to the pillory, could it be done with equal impunity. Of such anonymous and abusive writers I shall henceforth take no notice; but leave them in their garrets to their lice.

But although these writers are contemptible, nameless and inscrutable, their publishers are not. And I would have these gentlemen be assured, that I will no longer be made their property of abuse : and if any thing be hereafter inserted, without the name of the writer, and their being possessed of sufficient evidence to prove who he is, that I will seek from them that redress, to which by law I am entitled ; and no longer remain supinely inattentive to such publications as are illegal. Full sixteen years I have been the causeless object of their malediction and calumny, without resentment or reply. They have now extended their malevolence to my son. And, if they shall be still indulged in this illiberal proceeding, they may, at length, plead prescription ; and their successors in scandal persevere with impunity, not only to revile me, but all that may be descended from me. And to this admonition I expect they will pay a due attention.

Having now done with nameless and abusive writers, and with news-paper publishers, I shall embrace this occasion of conveying my sentiments to a pair of gentlemen who, in speeches, since published, have been pleased to traduce me, without the least provocation. These are two Orators, of *prodigious merit*, the right hon. Tommy Townshend, and the right learned Counsellor Lee. The former of these is thus characterised in the St. James's Chronicle of July the 30th, by a writer who assumes the signature of *Clio* : and therefore, *musæ majoræ canamus*.

“ The right honourable Thomas Townshend is one of the most respectable members that sit in the house. Though he is wanting in fluency of expression ; yet the soundness of his sense, the spirit
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of conduct, the integrity of his character, and the vehemence of his manner, render him, upon the whole, one of the most formidable members in opposition." To the integrity of his character I have nothing to object ; for I know nothing of it. The soundness of his sense and the spirit of his conduct, I shall beg leave to examine. At the same time, I acknowledge the " vehemence of his manner," does render him one of the most formidable members in opposition ; for, in his speaking, he seems as if he were going to *bite*.

Clio continues, " his eloquence, when he happens to be fluent, which he sometimes is, has a greater effect than that of any man in the house ; for the spirit, the fire, with which he attacks a minister, or a measure, is commanding : he throws his objections in the strongest light possible, and is *unmerciful* in the conclusions he draws from evil doings." A very butcher of an orator. " In his connections and speeches, he is remarkable for his true old Whiggish principles ; and his abhorrence of the measures, which brought in Tories and Jacobites." Ever since he hath been dismissed from his places and profits. *Clio* proceeds, " his speech on the pensions, given to doctors Shebbeare and Johnson, and the countenance shewn to Sir John Dalrymple, for having vilified the memory of lord Ruffel, and the great Sydney, was a performance, which will not be soon forgiven at St. James's." Which, if it be true, is no great proof of the soundness of his sense. However, that speech " had prodigious merit, and was greatly received. Lord North attempted to answer it, but failed." Nevertheless, I will undertake to attempt that in which, as *Clio* says, the prime minister miscarried. " The channel in which the pa-
tronage

tronage of the present reign flows, is a never-failing topic with him." He is no longer in that channel. "And he cuts it up with great spirit, wit, and as little mercy." With much more mercy small as it is than spirit, or wit, I assure you. And is not *cutting* up a *channel* most happily metaphorical?

And now, says Clio, "whenever a change in the ministry happens, he is expected to fill one of the highest posts in administration; and he will fill it with credit to himself, and advantage to the kingdom." From a comparison of this character with the speech above alluded to, and printed in the London Packet of the 18th of February, I cannot but conclude, they are the productions of the same genius. And this character intended as an election puff, to exhibit his talents and his consequence to the university of Cambridge, of which he is the representative. Be that as it may, I humbly presume to offer a different reading of the last passage in his character; and to suppose Mr. Townshend speaking in the first person. "Whenever a change in the ministry happens, I expect to fill one of the highest posts in administration: and I will fill it with *profit* to myself, whatever the *advantage* may be to the kingdom."

The character being dispatched, I come now to the speech itself, of such prodigious merit, and so greatly received, that lord North failed in answering it. It was spoken in opposition to a motion made in the house of commons, for prosecuting the printers of a paper that appeared in the Public Advertiser and Morning Chronicle, of the 16th of February, signed a South Briton. "I cannot forbear, says he, remarking, on the industry and pains employed to paint the offence now stated to you in the most aggravated colours, when the very per-

persons, who not only condemned the revolution, which is the thing brought against the pitiful author of the libel, now before you, but who reviled the prince on the throne, and endeavoured to overturn the constitution and the laws, are now publicly caressed and pensioned. The men I mean are, Dr. Shebbeare and Dr. Johnson. I have no personal knowledge of either of them; but I am well informed, that Shebbeare has a pension, and that Johnson's has been doubled since he wrote a certain pamphlet, in which every prince, since the revolution, but his present majesty, has been most infamously and scandalously traduced. Are these then the men that are to be taken into the bosom of administration, in order to be rewarded for offences little short of treason; and is a poor wretched printer or obscure scribber to feel the full force of our indignation for a crime however reprehensible in itself, when compared with those which I have mentioned scarcely worthy of our notice? there are some persons, near me, descendants of the illustrious Russel; and I have myself, a drop of the blood of Sydney in me. I must confess, I cannot therefore sit silent and hear the resentments of this house poured upon an insignificant printer, at the instigation of those who countenance, protect, and encourage the men who have attempted, in the most cool and deliberate manner, to revile that revolution, to which those heroes so gloriously paved the way."

I shall now examine into the *prodigious merit* of this exhibition of oratoric excellence, the sound sense, and spirit of conduct of this most formidable member in the opposition, concluding that on this occasion he was fluent. There are various qualifications, both in the speaker and the speech,
that

that are indispenfibly requifite to conftitute the former an *orator*, and the latter an *oration*. Among thefe, confiftency of character, truth, and fentiments coinciding, through the whole, and conducive to the fame purpofe, to fay nothing of the energy of ftyle, propriety of expreffion, and powers of elocution. Among the excellences of this formidable fpeaker, enumerated in the preceding character, this is one, “that he is remarkable for his true old whiggifh principles.” And, as an evidence of this truth, he gets up, denominates the paper before them a *libel* againft the *revolution*; and declares, he cannot fit filent, and hear the refentments of the houfe poured upon an insignificant printer, who, as he allows, had publifhed a libel againft the *revolution*. This, I apprehend, is the very perfection of confiftency; an old whig ftyles a paper before him, a *libel* againft the *revolution*. He then harangues in *favour* of the perfons who printed this *libel*, with intent to avert the indignation of the houfe; and this becaufe he cannot fit filent and hear the refentment of that houfe, from men who *countenance* and *protect* thofe who have *reviled* the *revolution*. And yet, this countenance and protection is that very tranfgreffion which he himfelf is at that moment committing, in defence of the printer, who he himfelf has denominated to be a like reviler of that *revolution*. Does not this fpirited conduct, and confiftency of principle, evince the foundnefs of his fenfe, and confirm “that there is fomething in his character very *ftriking*?”

Let me now enquire into his reafons for fpeaking on this occafion. And thefe are, “that he cannot forbear remarking, on the *induftry* and pains employed to *paint* the offence now *ftated* in the moft

aggravated colours." This passage, I am apprehensive, contains some particulars, that neither Aristotle, nor Quintilian have enumerated among those qualities in an oration, that pronounce a man to be a most respectable speaker. Do painters *state* an offence, or orators *paint* a *state* of it? and if they do, should it not be in the most aggravated *colouring*, to preserve the metaphor, and make it consistent with common sense and common English? will this pass muster at Cambridge?

Having, in this manner, given his reasons for remarking on the *industry* and *pains* of *painting* a *stated* offence, he now proceeds to deliver those, which are full as good, for averting the indignation of the house from the author or publisher of the paper, which he denominates a *libel*. And these are the pitifulness of the obscure scribler, and the poverty and wretchedness of the printer. Now, unless this orator be acquainted with this obscure scribler, by what means does he know that he is a pitiful author? it is true, indeed, if he bestow that epithet on him, on account of the manner in which that paper is written, the author of it is pitiful enough. And if we may determine from the *speaking* of an orator, what will prove to be the pitifulness of his *writing*, and that characteristic is to be received as his protection from punishment, the right honourable gentleman may safely commence his *written* libels, whenever he will, and defy the indignation of the house. At the same time, it may not prove to be an evidence of the soundness of his sense, absolutely to confide in that pitifulness for his security. Because, I apprehend, the law does not pay so much attention to the pitifulness of the performance, as to the maliciousness and mischief of the intention in the writer. And then, if he be as vehement and as contemptible

in writing, as he is in speaking, he may chance to be as much derided as an author, as he is as an orator, and to be punished for putting on paper, those very words, which, in the house, he speaks with impunity. For it seems the good manners and liberty of speech, allowable in that place, make that inoffensive, which the law condemns as a libel in all others. So much would not have been said on this head, had the author of the South Briton been known.

With relation to the printers, I sincerely wish their poorness and wretchedness may tend to alleviate their sentence. For it would seem to be hard for them to suffer greatly for printing so pitiful a performance. I hope, therefore, their punishment may prove as lenient as the laws can allow, and mercy dictate. For it uniformly appears that the severity of infliction, in such cases, like burning at a stake for heresy, rather increases the number of converts, than intimidates from transgression. And as these pitiful scriblers against government, have either already committed, or are in the actual commission of a literary self-murder, I could wish to see them proceed with as little interruption as possible, till, by their writings, they render themselves incapable of making converts, to their cause; and expire by their own handy-work; and in that manner put an end to writing and printing such miserable productions.

There is yet another reason which this right honourable speaker is pleased to offer, in order to avert the indignation of the house of commons. It is that "Johnson and Shebbeare are now publicly caressed and pensioned, who have not only condemned the revolution, but have reviled the prince on the throne; have endeavoured to overturn the constitution and the laws; and committed offences

offences little short of treason." Now I do not perceive, why this most respectable orator should be so vehemently declamatory; nor on what he can ground his malediction of the ministry, for pensioning Dr. Johnson and myself; since we have done, if he may be credited, the same things only for which he is labouring to obtain an alleviation of resentment against the printers of the South Briton? if so obscure a scribler, deserve to escape from punishment, for so pitiful a performance, does it not logically follow, that we ought to be rewarded for having executed such magnificent undertakings in the same way?

However, neither Dr. Johnson nor myself shall presume to avail ourselves of this argument. On the contrary, we defy this most respectable member of sound sense to adduce one instance, in proof, that either of us hath endeavoured to overturn the constitution and the laws, hath written a word against the revolution, against the religion of our country, or even to the prejudice of morality and good manners. And, if we had approached as nearly to treason as he has to falsehood, in this charge against us, I am afraid we should deserve as much to be put to death for what we have written, as he does, *not* to be credited for what he hath spoken, and then the Lord have mercy upon us.

But he says, "we have reviled the prince on the throne." According to the context with the preceding part of the sentence, which mentions the revolution, this prince on the throne must be king William, who was dead ten years before either of us was born. And this seems to make it somewhat difficult to reconcile that passage with common sense. Since it cannot be king William, it



must be his present majesty, who is the prince on the throne, whom we have reviled. But this supposition cannot serve him either; because he declares, that Dr. Johnson hath traduced every prince since the revolution, *except* his majesty: and of that offence, respecting me, he says nothing. But, considering the prodigious merits of this speech, although the orator *except* his majesty, I am not perfectly convinced that he does *not mean* him. Now, unless this formidable member will explain in what manner we reviled king William on the throne, who was dead before we were born; or how we can have reviled the prince *on* the throne, and yet *not* have reviled his *present* majesty, which he allows we have not, I shall never enjoy sound sense enough to comprehend it. And if an explanation be attempted, it must come from him, or no attention will be paid to it. This I desire to have considered, not only as an instance of his adherence to truth, but of his consistency in matter also.

The orator rises in sublimity, and speaking of the *libel*, as he calls it, by way of softening the indignation of the house, he says, “a crime, however reprehensible in itself, when compared with those, which he has now mentioned, scarcely worthy of their notice.” These words are too elevated, for the reach of my comprehension. I do not conceive in what manner a crime can be, *however*, or in whatever degree, reprehensible, and nevertheless, by comparison with another, become scarcely worthy of notice. Suppose, for example, the degree of criminality had mounted to treason, which is one among the *howevers*, would it have been reduced to a degree unworthy of notice, on being compared with those of Dr. Johnson and myself? which latter, as this most formidable member

ber has the goodness to grant, are “a *little short of treason?*” might it not as justly be said, in whatever degree a cloth be black, the blackest, for example, that it is scarcely black, when compared with another, that is not quite so black? and then the *unmerciful* conclusion must logically be, that the piece less black, is *blacker* than the *blackest*.

This right honourable and most respectable member, however, disclaims, “all personal knowledge of either of us.” For myself, I assure him, that the soundness of his sense, his prodigious merit, and his adherence to truth, have not created in me the least desire of being better acquainted with him. He then says, “he is well informed I have a pension.” And for once he is not mistaken. “And that Dr. Johnson’s has been doubled since he wrote the pamphlet,” above alluded to. I wish he may be as well informed in that particular as in the preceding. And that some one could *truly* inform him also, that mine will be doubled, for writing this pamphlet. And in return, let the soundness of his sense, the vehemence of his manner, and the formidableness of his opposition be trebled. Let him let loose his malediction, with its best fluency, on me, and I shall not be apprehensive of being overwhelmed by that torrent. At length, he asks this question. “Are these then the men that are to be taken into the bosom of administration, in order to be rewarded?” Whether Dr. Johnson be taken into that *bosom* or not, I know not; but as his pension is doubled, I expect lord North will take me into the *breeches pocket* of administration, and that shall content me.

I am now come to that splendid Apostrophe, intended for Sir John Dalrymple, which, it seems,
will

will not soon be forgiven at St. James's. "There are, says he, some persons near me, descendants of the illustrious Sydney, and I have myself a drop of the Ruffel blood in me." And what do these two wonderful circumstances produce in him? they send him to confession. "I confess, says he, I cannot therefore, sit silent and hear the resentment of this house poured upon an insignificant printer, at the instigation of those who countenance, protect and encourage the men, who have attempted, in the most cool and deliberate manner, to revile that revolution to which those heroes so gloriously paved the way." He cannot sit silent and hear the resentments of the house poured on an insignificant printer; but he must exert his oratory in his favour; because the ministry, I suppose, have countenanced, protected and encouraged Sir John Dalrymple, who has *attempted* to revile that revolution, to which those heroes so gloriously paved the way. And thus this local proximity of Ruffel descendants, and one drop of Sydney blood, have compelled him into an absurdity unexampled. He hath poured forth his vehemence against the ministry, for their countenance of one who has only *attempted* to revile the revolution, in favour of another, who as he has acknowledged, hath *actually* reviled that very revolution, in a *libel* before them. I take the force of argument, and the *unmercifulness of the conclusion* to be extremely transcendent in this instance.

But there is yet another circumstance singularly remarkable in this passage. This member of sound sense, is mistaken in the matter of fact. For Sir John Dalrymple hath not attempted to revile the revolution, nor to defame those heroes, who may as justly be said to have gloriously paved the way to the new Jerusalem, as to the revolution. But let
Sir

Sir John defend himself, respecting his treatment of the revolution. As to Ruffel and Sydney, he stands forth, in his Memoirs, their conspicuous panegyrist. It must be allowed, indeed, that he has adopted a new mode of *verifying* facts in history, by bringing indisputable authorities to disprove the *truth* of them. And now I would advise this formidable orator to let that *drop* of Sydney blood out of his veins, if it have not already corrupted the whole mass. — “It is a general rule, says Mr. Bayes, that you must ever make a *simile* when you are surprised.” Now, as I am doubly surprised, on this occasion, before I proceed to offer my reasons, for advising this most formidable member in opposition to let out this Sydney drop, I shall explain the two *surprizes*, and then bring two *similes*.

First surprize. That an orator so respectable, of such sound sense, so formidable in opposition to the ministry, with all the other great talents and qualifications mentioned in his character, should make such a speech as the preceding.

Second surprize. That any man, who had heard that speech, could have conceived the orator to be a person of such prodigious merit, spirit, wit, eloquence, &c. even when he is fluent.

These singular phænomena may receive a full explanation, by the sole circumstance of supposing the speaker and the panegyrist to be the same person; and then the surprizes cease. However that may be, I am nevertheless resolved that my readers and the right honourable gentleman shall have the two *similes*.

First simile. If you put a calf's head in a pot and set it on the fire, with the cover on, you will find, by degrees, that the heat below raises the
scum

scum to the surface, sets the pot a boiling, and drives that scum, with a blubbering impetuosity, which struggles for an explosion, between the pot-lid and the pot; then thick and filthy it creeps down the footy sides of it. In this case, the formidableness arises from the danger of being scalded, if we approach too near the vehemence of the spluttering utensil. This I take to be a pretty exact resemblance of the unmerciful orator, when he is *not* fluent.

Second simile. If you place a barrel of new small beer on a dray, by the agitation of the vehicle, the fermentation vastly encreases, the dregs rise to the top, and the vehemence of the working will split the cask, unless you open the vent; then out springs the foaming, turbid, spiritless liquor, rises prodigiously into the sublime, exhausts its frisky force, and on the vessel's sides flows swiftly down. In this case, the formidableness arises from the danger of being horridly bespattered if you approach too near the cask. This I take to be the true resemblance of this respectable orator, when he *is* fluent.

When the colonel, in the Committee, bids Teague to carry a message to Mrs. Day, who had been his father's cook-maid, the Irishman tells his master that, on the sight of her, the pots and the spits will come into his head, and the laugh upon his face, against which the colonel gives him the strongest injunction. In like manner, when this unmerciful orator shall again harangue the house, I warn the commons neither to let the *pot* nor the *small beer barrel* to come into their heads, nor the laugh on their faces: But to behave with all due decorum to so *respectable* a member.

And

And now, having answered this speaker, of old whiggish principles, of sound sense, spirited conduct, vehement manner, and formidableness in opposition; of striking character, the ready advocate for enlarged and general measures; and the patron of madhouses; I must acknowledge in the last he affords a striking instance of disinterestedness; since, from thence, he has no advantage to expect, being in no more danger of losing his understanding, than a person is of being robbed, who has nothing to lose.

Clamabit vacuus cœram doctore orator.

Besides the preceding excellences, he is the soul of opposition; has great eloquence, when he is fluent; more effectual, fiery, spirited and commanding, in attacking a minister, than any man; he is an unmerciful old Whig, and abhorrer of Tories and Jacobites; an orator of prodigious merit, great spirit, wit, and as little mercy; whom lord North attempted to answer, but failed. Such, and so formidable being the man, whom I have engaged, I shall, in imitation of Sir John Falstaffe, to the prince of Wales, after he had *killed* a *dead* Percy, presume to tell his lordship, "that if he do me justice so; if not, let him demolish the next unmerciful Tommy Townshend himself. I look either to have my pension doubled, or a good place; I can assure him."

Having dispatched my animadversions, surprizes, and similes, I shall now proceed to assign my reasons for advising the right honourable orator to let that drop of Sydney blood out of his veins. And to this intent, I shall endeavour to give a faithful portrait of this glorious hero, Algernon-Sydney; a drop of whose sacred blood, like a saint's relique,

is so much adored by him. And first, of his political principles, in civil institutions.* He was a zealous republican, who upheld the magistracy, and the ministry, without a single person, kingship, or house of lords. In his religious establishment, he was averse from the church of England, her doctrines, discipline, rites and ceremonies; an enemy to episcopacy, and to all degrees of dignity in ecclesiastical polity. As a necessary consequence of these principles, he was an avowed enemy to the constitution of this kingdom, which the orator not only effects to admire and esteem, but to abhor those also, who, as he says, have endeavoured to overturn it. He held that kings were the trustees of, and derived their authority from the people; that the people are the sole judges of their regal government; have a right to take arms; to dethrone their sovereigns, to change the constitution both in church and state; and that the *king*, being a politic person, unless he be destroyed in his natural capacity, it is not high treason.

In obedience to these principles, he took arms, and engaged in the grand rebellion against Charles the first; in which it does not appear that he signalized himself by any conspicuous action. He was zealous and active, in all the preposterous changes, ecclesiastical and civil, of these times, till Cromwell assumed the sole government of the kingdom; and he vehemently opposed Richard, after Oliver's death. At this time, unaltered in opinion, by the long experience of that anarchy and despotism, which subsisted under the various forms that government received, and which demonstrated the madness of expecting liberty from principles

* Life of Sydney, p. 5, his discourses, passim.

ciples so absurd and impracticable.' Instigated by the same pertinaciousness of democratic fury, and presbyterian fanaticism, he united with *Praisegod Barebones*, and his rump, under a solemn obligation to accomplish the exclusion of kings, protectors, nobles and the church of England.

At the restoration, he was excepted amongst the regicides, as a man incompatible by his hatred to the constitution, and as irreconcilable to a king in allegiance by any acts of kindness. On his solicitation to Henry Saville, ambassador in France, to interfere in procuring him liberty to return to England, he was suffered to revisit his native land; and obtained his pardon from Charles the second. Notwithstanding this act of mercy, in the king, and without his having performed a single act, during his exile, which might merit this forgiveness, he immediately became a traitor to that very prince; and an agent of the king of France, in order to promote the designs of that monarch, and to oppose those of his lawful sovereign. And to this flagitious purpose he was purchased by a pension, paid him by Barillon, the French ambassador at the court of England. This treachery, which was suspected during his life, hath been lately verified by indisputable authorities, taken from the letters of Barillon, preserved in the proper place of depositing such records in France. And in a letter of Sydney to Henry Saville, who, like him, was a republican, and a traitor to his master, it is so far confirmed as to shew, that both *Sydney* and *Saville* were secretly intriguing with the French court, against their sovereign: for in that letter he says, **"you know Monsieur de Barillon governs us if, be be not mistaken."* Let the man who glories in

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having

* Sydney's letter to Saville, p. 45.

having one drop of Sydney blood in him, explain this passage to any purpose but the former, if he can.

Not satisfied with this treachery and ingratitude to the king, whose lawful authority he acknowledged, by accepting pardon and life from his hands, he, with the lords Shaftsbury, Russel, and others, became the patrons and abettors of the enormous perjuries of Titus Oates, respecting a Popish plot against the king's life. The most groundless, malicious, and inhuman machination, that ever villains invented or supported. By this infernal fiction not less than twenty men, entirely innocent of the charge, perished by the hands of the public executioner; among whom was the aged and virtuous lord Stafford. This nefariousness being accomplished, Sydney, with the lords Russel, Essex, Howard, Grey, together with Sir Thomas Armstrong, Ferguson the Presbyterian teacher, Rumsey, Rumbold, Nelthorpe, Wade, Goodenough, Walcot, Thomson, Burton Hone, and a few more, presumed themselves to be the people of England; pronounced that the king had, by his maladministration, forfeited his right to reign; and therefore, that it was lawful to dethrone him by any means whatever. And, with that intent, they entered into a conspiracy to take arms, and to assassinate their sovereign. Such were the natural effects of those principles which these men espoused. And is there not something similar that seems to prevail, at present? do not the aldermen Wilkes, Crosby, Bull, and Sir Watkin Lewes, together with the bill of rights men; the aldermen Sawbridge, Townshend, Oliver, Catharine Macauley, and the constitutional society; together with a majority of the common-council, the livery of London, and the mob of Newcastle, the

the men of tender conscience, and the Antiarticularians of the Feathers Tavern, presume to be the whole people of England at this day? and as their principles are the same with republicans and regicides, is it not necessary to be watchful of their actions?

The plot being discovered, Sydney was apprehended, tried, found guilty, and beheaded. And although the law may have been unjustly strained, in converting the papers, which were found in his closet, to a second evidence against him, because this proof, the crime of high treason undoubtedly demands: and which can never be violated, but by the outrage of an unmerciful and unjust judge. And altho' Sydney were not lawfully put to death, yet is there a man, now living, who believes he was not engaged in this conspiracy, to take away the life of that king, who gave *him* his, and therefore that he deserved his fate? persons of upright hearts will most certainly condemn and detest the magistrate; but can that violence, on one side, exculpate the criminality on the other? was Sydney in fact the *more* to be pitied as a traitor, because he suffered by the sentence of the unjust and cruel Jefferies? And permit me to ask, that, since no argument can palliate this illegal execution, even of a guilty man, what have the Whigs of king William's reign to offer in their excuse, who, through deficiency of a second witness, made an express law of attainder, to put Sir John Fenwick to death; against whom nothing can be said, that will not be equally applicable to Algernon Sydney.

Such was this heroic Sydney, by principle, a republican; by practice, a rebel; by intention, a regicide; and, in all, a fanatic visionary. His doctrine, respecting the right of the people to oppose their sovereigns in arms, to judge, depose, and

and put them to death, if they be sustainable in any state; and on the utmost emergencies; are such as are the most causelessly promulged in this kingdom. For, by this constitution, the minister is answerable for the conduct of public affairs, the people have their representatives, and they are, by their duty and their office, obliged to superintend the administration of the realm. They are the grand inquest of the kingdom, and bound to impeach the perpetrators of national mischief. The lords are the highest court of justice, before whom ministerial offenders are legally to be brought: and it is their duty to try, to acquit, or to find them guilty. And lastly, the king has the power of life and death, to pardon or to confirm the sentence.

Hence it is evident, that, in all cases of public malversation, the people have, at first, a right only to apply to their representatives for redress of grievances. If they neglect their duty, it is against them, who are their servants, that resentment ought to be exerted. But if these impeach the minister, before the house of lords, and the latter refuse or evade the claims of justice; it is against them the people have then their right of manifesting their indignation. If this high tribunal acquit the impeached minister, there the affair must legally rest. If they find him guilty, and the king refuse to sign his sentence, or pardon him unmeriting it; then, and then only, the people can claim the least right of appealing to their sovereign, in search of justice; when if it be refused, and the cause be worthy of such pursuit, they may seek redress by those means which God has given them.

But in all such cases, nothing but a certain majority of the people can properly apply to their representatives; and a majority of their representatives

to the house of lords; a denial of justice, on their part, can alone vindicate the people in seeking from them redress; and then on that of the sovereign, before the people can justifiably take arms against him.

And now we can ascertain by what means that hero, so gloriously paved the way to the revolution. By rebelling against Charles the first; subverting the constitution in church and state; and approving the murder of that sovereign. By engaging with the rump parliament, to govern without a king or house of lords. By becoming the pensioned traitor of Lewis the fourteenth; and entering into a conspiracy against the *life* of that king, who had given him *his*. By being tried, found guilty, and executed for rebellion. Such is the hero and cousin of the respectable member; such are the deeds for which he styles him glorious. And these, I should think, can form but a scurvy pavement to the revolution. Are these the true old whiggish principles also, for which he is remarkable? and let me tell this cousin Tommy, that his hero seems to have entertained no favourable opinion, either of the intentions or abilities of King William. For, in a letter to Saville, p. 46, he says, "I long since found that the design of sending H. Sydney into Holland, was like the rest of Sir William Temple's projects; a matter of great depth, and kept so close, that not one of them would speak to me of it; but this day was a se'ennight, a gentleman that came to see me, took a letter out of his pocket, newly come from Holland, wherein the whole end of his negotiation is set out very plainly; which, in short, is understood to be no more, than under a pretence of a guaranty, to draw Holland and Spain into a league with England; which may help

help the prince of Orange with an occasion of breaking the peace lately made; which, I believe, will take effect, if the *French* can be persuaded to *sleep* three months, and take no notice of it; if the Lovestein party, in Holland, and their associates, can be brought to *believe* the prince of Orange thinks of advancing *no interest but the public good of his country*, and if our house of commons can be so well satisfied with the *management* of the *last business* in Flanders, as to be willing to raise a new army, under the *same conduct*; and to believe one that is so raised, will conduce to the defence of Flanders as much as the last."

From this opinion of the prince of Orange, conjoined with the democratic fanaticism of Sydney, does it not appear extremely probable, that if he intended to pave the way to a revolution, it was of a different kind from that of placing king William on the throne of these realms? for such was the temper of all those implacable contenders for liberty, that, when once they had risen above the lawful authority of the king, by the arms of an infatuated populace, they never imagined themselves in real liberty, till those very people were subdued to an impracticability of opposing them. In this manner, these searchers of the lord and liberty, obtained an ascendant over one another, as the presbyterian and the independent rebels occasionally prevailed, till absolute power, in order to obtain an absolute freedom, for himself alone, centered in Oliver Cromwel; and that the soul of Sydney was of the same form is evidently seen in Thurloe's memoirs. Such was the *heroic* Algernon, one drop of whose blood the unmerciful Tommy Townshend so much esteems. On this account, will not that right honourable gentleman exhibit a stronger indication of

of sound sense and spirited conduct, in letting out, than preserving, that rebellious drop? and when he charged Dr. Johnson and me with endeavouring to overturn the constitution, and the laws; and with offences little short of treason; did he not deviate into the most flagrant inconsistency, to value his consanguinity with Algernon Sydney, whom he denominates a glorious hero, for having perpetrated crimes egregiously more enormous than those of which he falsely accuses us? does this absurdity, in that formidable orator, spring from sheer ignorance? or from what motive, whilst he is labouring to represent *us* to *be little* less than traitors, does he estimate himself so highly for his alliance with Algernon Sydney, than whom no history has yet produced a more sanguinary and ungrateful *traitor*; not to his sovereigns only, but to the constitution of his country also? does not this condemnation of Dr. Johnson and myself originate in his bosom, because we have shewn our allegiance and duty to his present majesty, by our writings; and the senseless effusion of his panegyric proceed from the like principles, which actuated the rebel heart of his heroic cousin Sydney?

I have now done with this most respectable member, and his Sydney drop. I shall now proceed to examine the speech of counsellor Lee, a gentleman in whom the nicest ballance cannot determine whether modesty or argument do most preponderate. This speech was inserted in the Public Ledger, the 12th of July, and delivered on the trial of the printers for that very paper which engendered that very speech of *prodigious merit*, which blustered from the oratoric lips of the formidable speaker, already mentioned. We all know that a dog will return to his *own* vomit, but

not to that of *another*. On this occasion, this learned and modest advocate returns to lick up the filthy scum, or foaming muddy and spiritless small beer that fell from the most respectable orator, and spews it out once more in defence of the same printers, in a second speech of equally prodigious merit. Among others, he is pleased to favour me with one short passage of his matchless harangue. "Such a fellow as Shebbeare, after grossly traducing the most illustrious character of the age, and reviling in almost direct terms, the revolution, he we find rewarded with a pension." Now I am really at a loss, to comprehend whom he intends by that description of *the most illustrious character of the age*: and, therefore, until he shall be pleased to name the person, and prove him to be that illustrious character, I shall not attempt to vindicate myself from the charge of traducing him. But what *such a fellow* as Lee can mean, by my reviling, in almost direct terms, the revolution, I cannot comprehend: because, in the sixth letter to the people of England, for which I suffered, it is said of the revolution, "I must recur to these times, when James the second was exiled from these realms: it will be necessary to remind you, what were the honourable dispositions of English men, the happy state and condition of your commerce and taxes at that hour. At that time, the love of liberty and their constitution truly animated the natives of England to oppose the usurpation of unlawful power in the sovereign and his ministers: then it was that zeal for the established faith, inspired your bishops to resist every attempt upon your religion: then it was you were a brave and honourable people: then it was that two millions supplied the annual expences in time
of

of war : then it was you paid only four shillings taxes in every twenty, which you spent, which are now risen to fourteen. Such was your blissful state when James was driven hence, and William and Mary mounted the throne of their father, and of these realms : a situation, which no other state in Europe could possess ; because not blessed with such natural advantages." And now I appeal to the world, whether Tommy Townshend and such a fellow as Lee, have not asserted a *whole* falsehood, when they say, "I have reviled, in *almost* direct terms, the revolution?"

It is true, indeed, if these orators mean by the revolution, the mischiefs that were produced by those ministers who engaged this nation in an expensive and unsuccessful war, to support the interests of the Dutch ; who spread universal corruption through the parliament ; purchased the members to exhaust the treasure, and lavish the blood of their fellow-subjects, encreased their taxes, raised the prices of the necessaries of life, and mercilessly mortgaged them and their posterity for the payment of those immense sums which they squandered for alien interests, and to enrich themselves ; then, indeed, that fellow Lee might have left out his *almost*. And if exposing such enormous iniquities be reviling the *revolution*, I have reviled it, and glory in that act.

There are, in Italy, a set of men, known by the name of banditti, who seem to possess a drop of the Sydney blood, and to be actuated by whiggish principles. Their occupation consists in robberies, and murder, and they claim the right of perpetrating such execrable actions under the name of liberty of conscience. Whenever it happens that these formidable and unmerciful gentlemen

tlemen of prodigious merit are discovered, and in danger of being apprehended, they fly to that church for a sanctuary, whose holy ordinances they have constantly violated, and into which they have never entered, but for the sake of committing sacrilege, till that moment of seeking safety from the hands of public justice. In like manner, this fellow Lee and others who have been educated in whiggish principles, and all those practices which have succeeded the expulsion of James the second, fly to the *revolution*, as to an asylum from the detestation which attends their misdeeds; and thank God for having been bred in such principles, as never can legitimately produce such practices as they pursue: and thus they would sanctify themselves by a *word* inapplicable to them and their actions, without a violation of every idea that originally attended it, and hardily hold up their faces against truth itself. So much for the modesty of Mr. Lee; I shall now proceed to the argumentative part of his speech, in defence of his clients. It is that because I receive a pension, the printers were to escape conviction. If this could have answered that purpose, I should have had no objection to it. But ought not that learned advocate to have reflected before he selected this argument from Tommy the orator, that whilst he was bringing me as a pensioner, before the court, which as he was not pleading for a pension for his client, did not promise to be of much service to his cause; he must inevitably recall me as a person that had been punished for a libel, from which accusation it was his duty to defend his client. By that singular and useful mode of defence, did he not produce a precedent that operated in diametrical opposition to that end, to which his rhetoric should have solely tended?

tended? a consistency of arguing which he has imitated also from the respectable Tommy Townshend.

Mr. Lee now rises to the very summit of the sublime, and gives us an instance of his oratoric powers, such as is not to be found either in Longinus, or Mr. Burke. "Russel, Sydney, and other ornaments of human nature, have not escaped the traductory malice of a libeller. In a book called *Memoirs of Great Britain*, they are most outrageously defamed." I have already shewn what an amazing ornament Sydney was to human nature. From this vehement effusion of ill-timed panegyric in Mr. Lee; may not the world be inclined to conclude, either that his *whole* body is filled with Sydney blood; or his whole soul with similar principles? which, if it be, may their similitude be continued to the end, and his exit like that of him whom he so rapturously pronounces to be an ornament to human nature; the most certain way in which this gentleman can be exalted to a like distinction among posterity.

Mr. Lee continues. "Not that I blame an historian for laying facts before his readers, but I blame him for prejudging a cause by preliminary remarks of his own; yet this is the case of the compiler of the book in question; he prefaces his anecdotes with a prejudication of characters; and he says, that when the force of truth compelled him to prejudge them, he felt as a father would do whose son had cowardly turned his back in the day of battle."

Now it so happens, that in all this prodigious explosion of rhetorical resentment against Dalrymple, there is not one syllable of truth. 1st, That writer, in his *Memoirs*, is so far from being a traductory or malicious libeller, who has most
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outrageously defamed both Ruffel and Sydney, that he has adopted the opinion of Whigs and Presbyterians, and is manifestly the encomiast of those two men. 2d, The words which Mr. Lee recites are not those of the historian. These are, "when I found in the French dispatches lord Ruffel, intriguing with the court of Versailles; and Algernon Sydney taking money from it, I felt very near the same shock, as if I had seen a son turn his back in the day of battle." Where then are the preliminary remarks of prejudging? where does he say the force of truth compelled him to prejudge? 3d, These preliminary were posterior remarks; and were not printed in a preface to the memoirs; and therefore could be no prejudication of the characters, unless that which follows precedes the thing which it succeeds. They were printed in a preface to the second volume, containing a collection of state papers, including indubitable facts, two years after the memoirs had been published. And thus it happens that the case, which Mr. Lee blames, has no existence; and that, which he approves, is the real case. To what then is this truthless exhibition of Mr. Lee to be attributed? to his modest assurance, which incontinently prompts him to utter every kind of defamation against those whom he pleases to traduce? to his ignorance, which precludes him from the understanding of what he reads, which has mistaken the true state for the false, the preface of the second volume, for that of the first; and put that in the front which follows in the rear? or to his love of veracity, which uniformly inclines him to represent things as they are not? it must be allowed, however, that in the act of speaking great words, to no purpose, this gentleman

tleman has exhibited a specimen of *prodigious merit*.

Mr. Lee perseveres. "But we see no notice taken, no complaint made of a book wherein the characters of men, hitherto deemed an honour to their country, are traduced and villified; their *defunct manes* are impiously insulted, their living descendants are basely dishonoured." What notice Mr. Lee would have had taken, or complaint made against a book, which contains nothing but the most authentic documents of truth, he may explain if he can. And if the characters of those he mentions have hitherto been deemed an honour to their country, it has been by rebels, regicides, republicans, Whigs, Presbyterians, and such fellows as Lee. And, according to that orator, it is an impious insult on their *defunct manes* to prove, that Sydney was a rebel, a regicide of one king, a subverter of the constitution, a pensioned traitor of France, and a conspirator against the life of another king, who gave that Sydney the privilege of living in his native country. What a blessed idea of impiouſness is generated in the conceptions of this advocate and his associates! and if their heroes be traduced and villified, it is not by Sir John Dalrymple, but by truth herself; if such calumny be applicable to what she delivers. And if their living descendants be dishonoured, it is by the demerits only of their dead ancestors.

But this illustrious advocate is even more *unmerciful* than the formidable Tommy Townshend. For he has put to *death* that which never dies. The *manes* of Russell and Sydney are *defunct*. The soul which survives the body is dead. This is, indeed, an infliction on these two heroes; most *unmerciful*, indeed. Counsellor Lee has slain immortality

mortality itself, and put the very souls of Russell and Syndey to death; a cruelty as much beyond that with which they were bodily inflicted, as the deprivation of a life for a few years is inferior to that of eternity.

Mr. Lee now tells us, "that, since his advance to riper years, he had well weighed the matter, and could not help looking upon William and Mary as princes endowed with every public virtue, which could render them deserving of a throne; and every private virtue which should endear them to their subjects." I have no inclination to alter this manner of thinking, in this admirable orator: notwithstanding which, I shall presume to declare that, be their virtues ever so great, the same virtues are to be as justly attributed to his present majesty and his queen. And I would gladly know from what motives this ardent allegiance to dead kings, and such malevolent invectives heaped on me for having, as they say, reviled them, can proceed. On what account, their former sovereigns are so extolled, and I am constantly brought back to punishment? but such is the truth, these violences are not committed on me, because I have traduced dead sovereigns, as they assert; but because I will not revile the living. From this source springs that stream of calumny which they have turned in upon me. Had I continued the libeller they report me, their approbation would then be equal to their present slander; I might have received the glorious appellation of a patriot; and have been an illustrious chairman at the bill of rights. But let me be exposed a thousand times on the pillory, and sent to prison, for such deeds as I have already suffered, rather than be doomed to the principles of such
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men, and to presiding in their chair; for this would be *infamy* indellible.

Counsellor Lee has, indeed, given us his opinion of the princes, William and Mary, without favouring the public with his reasons for adopting it. I have given mine, also, respecting his present majesty, and his royal consort. I will not rest my sentiments on assertion, but presume to compare the public and the private virtues of the princes, on the throne, with those of the former pair, and leave the world to determine, in whom they are the most exalted; and whether I be not as perfectly justified, in this sentiment, as Mr. Lee and all his confederates of similar education and principles can be in theirs. With this view, I shall begin with those transactions which have been imputed to his majesty as criminally administered; expose the futility and falsehood of such imputations; bring instances of similar events, in the reign of king William, and then defy Tommy Townshend, Lee; and all of old whiggish principles to refute what I shall deliver, or to suggest that their present majesties are not as justly entitled to the encomium of public and of private virtues, as those princes whom they so much extol.

1. The first imputation of offence, in his majesty, is that of favouritism to lord Bute. That nobleman was born a British subject. By that birth, he is equally entitled, with all others, to distinctions in post and place. By his conduct, near his majesty, when prince of Wales, he acquired his esteem and affection, and received the effects of them, when the crown devolved on his head. This favourite received no distinctivemarks from his sovereign beyond that of the order of the garter, and a peerage for his lady.

1. Let me now shew the effects of favouritism, in the reign of king William. Bentinck, a foreigner, was raised from being a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Orange, to an earl and marquis of England. He was presented with five parts in six of the whole county of Denbeigh, with 135,820 acres of the forfeited estates in Ireland; with large donations of land in England, and was, in fact, the sole minister. Keppel, another favourite, a Dutchman, and page to the king, was made earl of Albemarle, honoured with the order of the garter, and presented with 108,633 acres of the Irish forfeitures. Ginckle, a Dutchman, was created earl of Athlone. Rouvigny, a French refugee, earl of Galway. These were presented with portions of the same lands; the former with 26,480, and the latter with 36,148 acres. Elizabeth Villiers, a *female* favourite, was made countess of Orkney, and presented with 95,649 acres of king James's private estate in Ireland, of the yearly income of 25,995*l*. On these, and a few others, were bestowed, in acres, 1,060,792, —in rent, 211,223*l*. —in value, clear of all incumbrances, 1,699,343*l*. Such was the account delivered into parliament, by the commissioners, who were sent to examine into that affair, previous to the resumption, and as ratified by the house of commons,

2. Lord Bute was inhumanly abused for making, and his majesty for signing the last treaty of peace with France. And yet, at this time, the expences of the last year amounted to more than 20,000,000*l*. including debts incurred and sums for the current year, that were raised without a loan. These were borrowed on new taxes, and the debts were not discharged till after the peace. The premium also for procuring this money amounted to
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more than thirty *per cent.* the funds were sunk to sixty-five ; and a bankruptcy imminently hung over the state, which, in all probability, would have fallen on it, had the war, with all possible success, continued two years longer, by which many thousands of the subjects had inevitably been reduced to the utmost distress. This peace was approved by parliament ; and by that treaty the nation acquired several islands of great value in the West-Indies, the extensive province of Canada, and a number of loyal subjects to oppose the rebellious intentions of the democratic sectaries in America, whose insolence has excited them not only to determine what merchandise shall be imported into that part of his majesty's dominions ; but to throw into the rivers whatever they disapprove, when it arrives : and to treat with barbarous outrage their fellow-subjects who shall discharge their duty, by carrying them to that country, from this kingdom.

2. King William entered into a treaty of alliance with the Emperor, English, Spanish, Italian and Dutch, wherein they protest, before God, that they will not make peace with Lewis the fourteenth until he had made reparation to the *Holy See*, and until he had annulled all his infamous proceedings against *holy father Innocent* the eleventh, and restored to the protestants of France all their possessions, and an entire liberty of conscience. And the protestants were therein invited to rebel, and threatened with destruction if they did not join them in arms against their lawful sovereign. Notwithstanding this solemn asseveration king William deserted the Emperor, and concluded a separate peace. The pope was satisfied, and the French protestants, whom he had excited to rebellion, were scandalously left to the resentment of Lewis the fourteenth ; and their consciences at full liberty

to continue their rebellions, without a syllable being stipulated in their favour in that treaty, which king William had solemnly protested before God, not to conclude before their liberties and possessions were restored, and their religion tolerated in France. The same king concluded the partition treaty, with Lewis the fourteenth, by the negotiation of Bentinck, an alien, without laying it before either the parliament, or even the privy-council. For the execution of this, the lord chancellor Somers, of old whiggish principles, in obedience to a letter from king William, sent full powers and blank papers into Holland, to which he had affixed the great seal of England, without communicating it to the other lords of the regency, or the privy-council, in order that the king might insert what terms, and appoint what commissioners he pleased. By this treaty, during the life of the Spanish sovereign, he presumed to distribute his dominions, and thereby insidiously conveyed, together with his territories, the subjects of that monarch to other princes, after his decease; as a Jamaica planter does his lands and his negroes to the person to whom he transfers his effects. And this unheard-of violation on sovereigns and subjects, and even on the rights of human nature, was transacted without the knowledge of that prince, and that people who were thus disposed of. This treaty produced a new war, which cost this state, and increased the national debt so many millions during the reign of queen Anne.

3. The ministry seized John Wilkes and his papers, by a general warrant; sent him prisoner to the tower, from whence he was discharged after a confinement of three days; and for which, by a verdict, he received four thousand pounds from lord Hallifax, then secretary of state.

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3. King William, when prince of Orange, arrested the earl of Feverham, for no other offence than that of bringing him a letter from king James, who was then in England: and afterwards upon suspicion only from intercepted letters, took into custody the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and sent them prisoners to the tower, which Tindal allows to be illegal, the rights of the subjects being thereby infringed, and the habeas corpus act violated. And to obviate all prosecutions, for so heinous an outrage on English liberty, an act of indemnity, for those who advised it, was passed in the subsequent sessions of parliament. During his reign, and all others, even to the time in which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended, general warrants, and seizing papers, were constantly in practice; except in the latter part of queen Ann's reign, when the Tories, calumniated as enemies to liberty, were in administration; after which, the practice was revived and continued. It was by a general warrant I and my papers were seized, when lord Chatham was prime minister. And when I objected to the illegality of the proceeding, another warrant was delivered me three days after I had been in custody; but being deserted by those who ought to have assisted me, I was rendered incapable of seeking redress by law.

4. Another imputation of criminality was, that of the house of commons, expelling John Wilkes, esq; after he had been duly elected by the freeholders of Middlesex. John Wilkes, esq; at the time of his election, was an outlaw, and twenty thousand pounds less worth than a shilling. He was thereby disqualified to enjoy every right of a British subject, and of possessing any property in the kingdom, had there been any which remained for him to possess. On that account

count, he could not be elected but with a violation of the constitution and the laws. Under these circumstances, it was a culpable lenity not to have fined the sheriff who returned him: and Proctor and Cook were in fact the legal members. On his re-election, when the outlawry was reversed, he was again expelled and disqualified from sitting in that parliament. This was done for writing a libel on lord Weymouth. Precedents in point are to be seen in the journals of the house of commons. Dr. Parry and Arthur Hall were both expelled and disqualified for libels. Added to all this, Mr. Wilkes had been previously found guilty of four libels; three against God, and one against his king. Had he been permitted to have sat, as a member, in that parliament, his privilege would have secured him from all punishment, as the offence of a libel is not one of those, which, by law, will authorise the commitment of a member of the commons to a prison. The cause of God and the king demanded that the privilege of the house should not protect him from punishment for such heinous iniquities.

4. On king James's abdication, a few men, unelected by the people, and at the exclusion of all others, were called together by the prince of Orange. These transferred the administration of public affairs into his hands, advised him to call a convention, though not yet a king; and this convention deprived king James of all future right to ascend the throne of the three kingdoms. Was this an object of less consideration than the affair of John Wilkes? had such a convention a predated right of expelling one king for ever, and of putting another on his throne; and had the commons of England, after numberless precedents, no right

to expel and to disqualify John Wilkes from sitting in parliament, for the duration of seven years only? whatever subject, after the deposing of king James, to whom he had sworn allegiance, should presume to attempt his restoration, that man was a rebel, by the laws, and executed as a traitor. But the freeholders of Middlesex dared to re-elect John Wilkes, and petition the king to dissolve the parliament, for not admitting their hero to sit among them. I conclude, that the mal-administration of king James justly drew upon him the fate he suffered. And I have hitherto discovered no reason to think, that Mr. Wilkes had any right to have been treated with so singular a favour, as to be received after disqualification.

5. Another cause of calumny was the king's refusing to comply with the London, the Middlesex, and a very few other petitions, to dissolve the parliament; because the freeholders of that county, and the people, were not fairly represented; and as Mr. Wilkes was fairly elected, and not permitted to sit in the house, it was an unlawful parliament. A multiplicity of other particulars, as fallaciously grounded, were included in these petitions; and then his majesty was requested to dismiss his ministers from his councils and presence for ever. The first was an object that could not constitutionally come before his majesty; because it is an established maxim, that a king of Great Britain cannot attend to any representation of what may pass in the house of commons, without it come directly from that house. To the other objects of their remonstrance, had they really existed, his prerogative could not lawfully extend. And even the very act of thus petitioning, addressing, and remonstrating, by a lord mayor, and part of the
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London corporation, to dismiss a ministry on the hardness of their assertion only, was an insolence unexampled, and a most culpable temerity.

5. The commons resolve to address king William to issue a proclamation for the apprehending of Ludlow, the regicide, then in England. The king delays his compliance therewith, until he knew him to be safely arrived in Holland. They again wait on his majesty with their resolution, respecting the resumption of the forfeited lands in Ireland, with which the king, by an equivocating answer, evades his compliance; and it is obtained, at last, by being tacked to a money bill, from which he was afraid to withhold his assent. The commons resolved to address his majesty, that no person, who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince of Denmark, be admitted to his councils in England or Ireland. To prevent this address, and to preserve his foreign favourites from being excluded, the king suddenly prorogues the parliament.

The commons petition the king to remove the earls of Portland, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, from his councils; for having advised the partition treaty. The king evades an answer. They are impeached by the commons, for high crimes and misdemeanours. Somers, for having affixed the great seal of England to full powers for concluding a peace, without the commissioners being named, or the conditions of the peace made known to him; and to blank-papers, to be filled up by the king and Bentinck, as his majesty might please. This was done without communicating the affair to the rest of the lords-justices, or advising with the privy council. By the king's influence in the house of lords, a quarrel arose between them and
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the commons about the time of bringing the impeached lords to trial. The house of lords arbitrarily appoint a day before the commons are prepared. The latter object to that proceeding, as unconstitutional; and refuse to attend on that day. Lord Somers and the others are brought to trial before the lords, in Westminster Hall, at which time, the commons not appearing to carry on the impeachment, the trial does not proceed, and the offenders are thereby acquitted. Such was the event of that enormous crime of affixing the great seal of England, previous to the contents, which were to be inserted in the papers; and thereby imparting an authority to the king, of ratifying, without the knowledge and consent of the privy council, whatever might be destructive to the welfare of this kingdom. Such did that very partition treaty prove to be. It produced a long and expensive war to support the Dutch, which wasted rivers of blood, and millions of our treasure, leaving the nation with their debts encreased from 17 millions, at the death of king William, to 52 millions, at the death of queen Anne.

6. Extending the prerogative makes no inconsiderable figure among the calumnies against his present majesty. And this was founded on the most humane and most laudable act of royalty; a proclamation, whereby his majesty prohibited the exportation of corn, at a time when the price was enormous, and the people in danger of a famine. Had it been delayed till the parliament had met, which could not have been in less than forty days, that time might have proved to be sufficient for the unrelenting lust of gain to have exported half the grain of the kingdom, and to have reduced the people to the utmost distress. To this

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exertion of the prerogative royal, I am fully convinced, his majesty is justly entitled. But had he not, it was of such a nature, that every man of sensibility for the miseries of his fellow-subjects, must have applauded the royal beneficence.

6. King William exerted his prerogative, in another way. He refused to give the royal assent to the bill for triennial parliaments, and to another, for excluding placemen and pensioners from the house of commons. And when the house addressed him, on that subject, he evaded the intention of that address, by an equivocal answer. When the commons were preparing to impeach Trevor and others, for receiving bribes, and being guilty of most notorious corruptions, the king defeated that affair by a sudden prorogation of parliament. By his prerogative, he granted to the East India company the right of seizing the goods and ships of all other subjects, who might presume to trade in any parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope. By this charter, the natives of England were rescinded from their constitutional rights, that had been granted by Magna Charta, which expressly mentions the privilege of trading in all parts of the globe. Besides this abolition of that privilege respecting Englishmen, the Dutch, and all other aliens whatsoever, were entitled to become members of that company. To that company king William granted not only the legislative power of making what laws they pleased; but the executive also, of appointing their own judges in India. And thereby the two most incongruous powers were united that can subsist in the same community; an union totally subversive of freedom, of the security of life and possessions, and repugnant to the constitution of England. Besides
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this stretch, a power was given to the king, and passed into a law by the representatives of the people, by which his majesty might establish whatever rules, qualifications, and appointments, in that charter, he might think reasonable. Such was the unlimited and unwarrantable authority then imparted to king William, by the delegated guardians of the rights and privileges of Englishmen; unexampled in its extent and nature, but by that law, which, in the reign of Henry the eighth, transferred an authority to the proclamations of that tyrant equal to the statutes of the realm.

7. When the civil magistrate was called on to preserve the peace, and to read the riot act, to a lawless mob, met in St. George's Fields, with an apparent intention of rescuing John Wilkes, esq; from prison; and a small part of the soldiery was thought necessary to prevent the ill effects of their tumultuous proceedings, the act being read, the tumult not only continued, but even the magistrate was insulted and wounded by a brick, or by some other thing of a like dangerous nature, which was thrown at him. The necessity of the case required the justice of peace to command the soldiers to fire; and one or more persons were thereby killed. Among these was one Allen, whom two or three of the soldiers followed into a cowhouse, and put to death. This was justly considered as an exceeding of legal authority. One of the soldiers, suspected of this death, was seized, imprisoned, and tried at Guildford; where it was clearly proved, that he was not a person concerned in that unlawful transaction. The man, who was the actual offender, was said to have fled from justice, and lord Barrington, in his majesty's name, thanked the officer for doing his duty.

This whole transaction was unjustly imputed to the king, although it were absolutely impossible that his majesty could have had the least knowledge of the matter. The letter from the secretary of war was purely official, and exactly such, as in the reign of king George the second, had been transmitted to the officer who commanded at Coventry, when great numbers were killed by the soldiery, in suppressing a riot about the turnpikes. Notwithstanding these circumstances proceeded regularly according to the statutes of the realm, the death of Allen excepted; and *that* because he was followed from the place of the riot, this event was denominated the massacre of St. George's Fields. And every artifice was exerted to excite the people to an insurrection.

7. In the reign of king William, after the MacDonalds of Glencoe had taken the oaths, by law required; and were peaceably returned to their own country, an armed force was insidiously sent as friends among them, and in one night thirty-eight men were slain in their beds. An accident alone prevented that flagitious act of cruelty from being extended to many thousands of this and of other clans. The king with his own hand signed the warrant, which authorized this massacre, both above and below. And, notwithstanding every attempt that was made, he would never permit any of those to be punished, who were concerned in this murder, attended with every aggravating circumstance that can enter into so execrable a deed, "conscious that, in their cause, his own was involved."

8. Another source of displeasure against his majesty was the pardoning of Macquirk and Kennedy, who had been found guilty of murder. Macquirk had been at Brentford on the day of Mr. Wilkes's
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second election; and a riot arising, one Clark had his head broken by Macquirk. Several days had passed, after this affair had happened, before Clark was taken ill. Mr. Sparling, apothecary, attended him; and, as I recollect, Mr. Bromfield the surgeon saw him also. Clark dying so opportunely for their cause, the patriots thought it a favourable occasion of ascribing it to the blow he had received at Brentford; and accordingly one Foote, a patriotic surgeon, was employed to open the body, in order to discover the cause of his death. An inquest was taken by the coroner and his jury. Mr. Sparling deposed that Clark died of a fever. Foote, that he died of the wound received at Brentford. I shall take no notice of the manner in which the evidence was obtained, of Macquirk's being the person who gave the blow. Macquirk was then seized and committed to gaol, took his trial, and by a strange oversight, neither Mr. Sparling nor Mr. Bromfield were called as evidence on the trial. Foote swore that Clarke died of his wound received at Brentford; and on the verdict being given, guilty of death, the patriots that delight not in blood, shouted aloud for joy. And proved by that inhuman exultation, that the spirit of revenge, and not of justice, had incited them to the trial of Macquirk. When this singular affair was represented to his majesty, and it was known that Foote, the sole witness on his trial, had never seen Clark till he was dead; and that Mr. Sparling and Mr. Bromfield were not subpoena'd on that trial, who had deposed at the coroner's inquest, that Clarke did not die of the wounds received at Brentford, it was clearly seen that their oaths would certainly have set aside the evidence of Foote. That duty therefore which ought
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to be inseparable from the breast of every sovereign, of preventing any subject from being put to death unjustly, determined his majesty to be satisfied of the reasons which induced this Foote to give such an evidence. In consequence of this humane resolve, a number of surgeons, of the greatest reputation in their profession, the most unexceptionable in their characters, and, by their fortunes, above all temptation from pecuniary influence, was appointed to hear what Mr. Foote had to offer in favour of that opinion, on which his oath was grounded. It would be an absurdity to conceive, that he, who had sworn in the preceding manner, did not deliver every thing which might best support his evidence. Yet such was the event, that, notwithstanding all he offered, the gentlemen who examined him, and who could as perfectly judge from Foote's relation, as he had done from the dissection only, whether he or Mr. Sparling were right in their opinion respecting the death of Clarke, were unanimously of opinion that his death was not caused by that wound. I will appeal, therefore, to the sense of every unprejudiced person, whether his majesty, after the circumstances of this affair had been thus examined into, and laid before him, could have consented to the execution of Macquirk, without being deemed as instrumental in putting him to death unjustly. Happy Englishmen! if you were sensible of the supreme felicity of being subjects to a sovereign whom neither popular applause can allure, nor popular calumny intimidate from treading in the paths of justice and of mercy! by whom the innocent, and those who deserve not death, are not forsaken, and suffered to expire by the hands of the common executioner, through
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fear of party rage, as in the reign of Charles the second, that inexpressible disgrace to sovereignty. He, when numbers of his subjects were doomed to die the victims of remorseless vengeance, and of perjurers, suborned by regicides and republicans; when the representation of *their* innocence, and the perjuries of their pursuers were laid before him, flunk, like a dastard, from the calls of justice, the admonitions of conscience, and the duty of a king, and said; "I dare not pardon any one; his blood be upon your head, and not upon mine." And thus the innocent were led to ignominious slaughter, and the enemies of truth, mercy, and of the constitution, triumphed in their execrable actions, and revelled in the guiltless blood of their fellow-subjects.

Kennedy was, indeed, a murderer, and ought to have suffered that sentence to which he was justly doomed. But such is the well known fact, that a person of distinction, seduced by the allurements of that murderer's sister, whom he then kept as his harlot, forgot, at once, both his feelings for the slain, and his duty to his sovereign. And by his means, application was made to his majesty, with a misrepresentation of the fact in favour of Kennedy. There is not a virtue of the human heart that may not, by artifice and deception, be induced to exceed the limits which are, by nature assigned to its exertion. His majesty listened to the application, unknowing from what motive it proceeded; and persuaded that no man of such eminence and rank, as he that applied, would presume to misrepresent and to deceive him, pardon was obtained for Kennedy. By these means, in one instance, excess of virtue hath saved a villain from condign punishment. But can it there-
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fore be considered as a national misfortune, that mercy has been once misplaced, and cruelty hitherto a stranger to the bosom of that king who now reigns over us?

8. During the reign of king William, all legal prosecution was either totally suspended, or pardons granted even to such murderers whose crimes no artifice could conceal, nor misrepresentation disguise. The Glencoe assassins were preserved from prosecution. Somers, Trevor, and innumerable others, who had violated the constitution, and plundered their country, were, by court management, prevented from receiving their due punishment. And lastly, Titus Oates, that nefarious perjurer, in consequence of whose enormities, more than twenty innocent men were put to death; his sentence, the king attempted to have reversed. But the commons refused to gratify him in so impious an act. That villain, was not only pardoned, but pensioned also. The reason of this flagitious favour being granted to so execrable a wretch, may, perhaps, receive some explanation from a passage uniformly omitted by all the historians of that prince's reign; although it be equally authentic with any other of his transactions whatsoever. “*I presume to declare, says the count d’Avaux, that I have omitted nothing which may discover the combinations that the prince of Orange has engaged in with the most abandoned of the English. On the 21st of September, 1679, I sent intelligence that Oates, who has since that time been so notorious; Freeman, of whom I have already spoken; and Du Moulin, a man of intrigue, and an execrable villain, arrived together in Holland some years past,

* D’Avaux, Tom. 1. p. 32.

past, and that the prince of Orange had been in great conferences with them."

From this passage, may it not be reasonably suggested, from whence the contrivance of that plot, which never had a real existence, originated; by which so many innocent men were inhumanly executed. Was it in the bosom of the prince of Orange, or did he only acquiesce in, and support that infernal perpetration? may not this pardon and pension of so execrable a villain, as Titus Oates, have emanated from the same humane sensation with the signing of the dispatch, that authorized the Glencoe massacre, and rescinded all means of bringing the murderers to justice? and was not the cause of Oates, in this instance also, that in which the king was equally involved?

Mercy, it must be owned, was not among the vices of king William: for in the act of indemnity, passed in the year 1690, more persons were excepted, than at the restoration, after the kingdom had been so long deluged in civil blood, the constitution, civil and ecclesiastic, subverted, and the king murdered at Whitehall. And it is a well known fact, that several persons, apprehended and confined in Newgate, without their being brought to trial, through want of evidence, remained in that jail; and, after an imprisonment of many years, therein expired.

9. There is yet another imputation of criminality against his majesty; because he pardoned Jones, who had been found guilty of the most unnatural, detestable, and unpardonable of all crimes. But such being the nefariousness of the deed, ought not the commission of it to be proved in the most unexceptionable manner? because the mercy of the sovereign cannot otherwise be de-

cently extended to such abominable criminals. That the witness and the circumstances of his evidence, against Jones, render the crime justly to be suspected; or, at least, that it was not proved, by deposition, adequate to the infliction of death, appears to be too evident to be contradicted. And all lawyers whom I have heard to speak on that subject, are unanimously of opinion that, on the sole evidence of the boy so circumstanced, Jones ought not to have suffered death. The clamour excited on this occasion, sprang entirely from the malignant intentions of those patriotic spirits who omit not any opportunity of slandering the best of sovereigns.

9. Whether king William would have pardoned Jones, had he been on the throne, I shall leave to the judgement of my readers; after having recited what his historians have delivered. Tindal says, he was not addicted to *women*. Bishop Burnet pronounces, "that he had no vice but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret." What this vice was, says Tindal, he has left the world to guess; by which means, the worst of vice has been, by his enemies, fixed upon him. * Count D'Avaux says, "there was so much affectation in the civilities that the prince of Orange expressed for the duke of Monmouth, that he seemed to seek, with pleasure, every occasion of insulting the king of England. He indulged him with the same liberty which was shewn to Bentinck only, that of *entering* whenever he pleased into the prince's *chamber*. He scarcely bestowed a favour, but at his recommendation. And no one imagined he had properly paid his court to the prince, if he left it unperformed to the duke of Monmouth.

* Tom. 3. p. 121.

Monmouth. All persons, of the best quality in Holland, contended with each other who should entertain him. It seemed as if the prince of Orange had changed his humour, or that he entertained some *designs* which were *not well comprehended*. For he who was the most jealous of all human beings, even to a degree of not permitting his princess to receive any particular visit, not only from man, but even from woman also, pressed the duke of Monmouth to see the princess every afternoon, to teach her country-dancing. He obliged the princess to learn to skate on the ice, because the duke of Monmouth had an inclination to learn that exercise. It was one of the most extraordinary sights imaginable to see the princess of Orange on skates upon the ice, with her petticoats tucked up learning to skate, sometimes on one foot, and then on the other." I need not remark that the duke of Monmouth was reckoned to be the handsomest of all Englishmen.

Burnet says, "about this time, 1699, the king set up a new favourite, Keppel, a gentleman of Gueldres. He was raised from being a page into the highest degree of favour, that any person had ever attained to, about the king. He was now made earl of Albemarle, and soon after, knight of the garter; and by a quick and *unaccountable* progress, he seemed to have engrossed the royal favour so entirely, that he disposed of every thing that was in the king's power. He was a chearful young man, that had the *art* to *please*; but he could scarce submit to the attendance and *drudgery* that was *necessary* to maintain his post. He never had yet distinguished himself in any thing, though the king did it in every thing. He was not *cold* nor *dry*, as the earl of Portland was thought to be."

Are not the former precisely the marks of favour with which Charles the second distinguished all his *female* favourites; and the latter, those of dislike for which he put off one and took another?

“ The earl of Portland, continues the bishop, observed the progress of this favour, and with great uneasiness. They grew to be not only incompatible, as all *rivals* for *favour* must be, but to *bate* and oppose one another in every thing; by which the king's affairs suffered much. Portland withdrew from the court, and laid down all his employments.” Madam la Valliere, the favourite mistress of Lewis the fourteenth, on being supplanted by a rival, left the court, and retired into the convent of the Carmelites. I shall leave my readers to determine whether Jones, under a like sentence in the reign of the glorious king William, had been pardoned or not. It is my opinion, he would not only have received that favour, but a considerable pension. Because Titus Oates, a pensioner of king William, had been expelled from on board a ship of war for sodomy.

10. Among the various charges which calumny hath laid against his majesty, that of robbing the duke of Portland, by a grant of Inglewood forrest and the manor of Carlisle to Sir James Lowther, made a most amazing outcry. Since that time it has been proved, in a court of law, that not only the part of that forrest which was thus granted, had never been granted to the Portland family; but that it was illegally assumed. That the manor of Carlisle had never been a grant from the crown, is evident, because it was a purchase for life of the last surviving Lessee, to whom it had been granted by Catharine, queen dowager of Charles the second. And consequently, after the death of that Lessee, the Portlands had held it illegally

legally from the crown. Hence it appears, that, instead of his majesty's robbing the duke of Portland, his ancestors had robbed the crown; and he unlawfully retained what they usurped.

10. It is an uniform opinion that whenever the crown of England devolves on the lawful successor, that the kingdom of Ireland constitutionally becomes a part of his dominions. But as king William was elevated to the throne by a convention of men called together by a prince of Orange, before he was made king of England, some doubts have arisen, whether, in such case, the Irish were obliged to receive him as their sovereign also. They had sworn allegiance to James the second. He had never been considered by them as attempting to subvert their religion, or to enslave them. And he could not be said to have abdicated that kingdom; because he was arrived among them to preserve it to himself. Under these circumstances, does it clearly appear, by what means the Irish could have been denominated rebels, for taking arms in defence of king James? and if not rebels, how their estates could have been forfeited, by their adherence to their only acknowledged sovereign? Whether they were rebels, or not, I shall not presume to determine: nor consequently if their estates were legal forfeitures. But there is one forfeiture, which seems to be of a most singular kind. It is, that king James should be considered as a rebel for defending his kingdom against king William, and thereby forfeit that estate, in Ireland, which he held as private property. This, however, amounting to more than twenty five thousand pounds, of annual rent, was taken from him, and given to Elizabeth Villiers, king William's countenancing female favourite. But I am not lawyer

yer enough to determine whether this be or be not a robbery. I leave that to the learned Mr. Lee.

11. The inattention of the ministry to the Corsicans, when the French had landed on their island, with intent to take possession of it, was another subject of patriotic clamour. The brave, the meritorious and freeborn Corsicans were asserted to be most shamefully deserted; and even, that the cause of liberty herself was sacrificed to the king of France. These patriotic zealots for liberty were therefore implacable, because his majesty would not become the Don Quixote of all sovereigns; and waste the blood of thousands of his subjects, and millions of their money, in defence of men whose freedom could not have been secured, but by an eternal war; even supposing we could have assisted them so effectually as to repel the French forces from the island. If we had sought it for ourselves, and taken possession of it, I am in doubt whether the Corsicans would have thought their liberties improved by a change of masters, and have desisted from taking arms against the troops of England. Of this I am convinced, that to have preserved that island, would have cost, in one year, as many British lives, as there are Corsicans who are able to bear arms within it; and five times as much money as the fee simple of it is worth: to say nothing of the too extensive state of our foreign dominions, nor that the French had purchased it from the Genoese, to whom the Corsicans were subjects. What reasonable pretence could his majesty have formed for engaging in the affairs of Corsica? if that island be of that immense import, which the patriots affect to describe it, on what account have the king of Sardinia, the duke of Tuscany, and other Italian potentates

potentates considered it as an object altogether unworthy their concern, although it lie so near to their dominions? what then is Corsica to us, or what are we to Corsica?

11. King William solemnly protested before God never to make peace until the French Hugonots were restored to their possessions; to the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, and till liberty was restored to France, by re-establishing the states of that kingdom. He nevertheless concluded a peace with that monarch, without the least mention of either of these particulars. And left his brother Calvinists in the hands of a tyrant.

12. When the Spaniards had compelled the English to leave Falkland's island, what an exquisite sense for the honour of old England did the patriots express: nothing but war would satisfy their indignation, and vengeance was to be poured on the Spaniards for this egregious insult on the English nation. His majesty and his ministry were treated with the highest indignity, for such shameful pusillanimity, as that of not declaring hostilities on the moment. Nevertheless, the king and ministers by their firmness and wisdom were not of the same opinion, which these clamorous subjects appeared to be. They conceived that neither the blood nor treasure of his subjects was to be wantonly wasted, at the incitement of such turbulent exclaimers. In consequence of this paternal care in the king, he by treaty obtained the recall of the Spaniards, and the island was resumed by his subjects. No blood was spilt. And small was the expence, in preparing for a vindication of the nation's rights and honour, should the Spaniard refuse compliance with what was required. Spain acceded to our terms, peace was confirmed, and patriotism was grievously disappointed,

pointed, by that humane negociation which spared our lives and treasure, and rescinded them from the hopes of carrying their sanguinary principles into execution, whilst the kingdom was engaged in a foreign war.

12. In the reign of king William, the people of Scotland planted a colony on the Isthmus of Darien. By which the smuggling trade on that coast, so advantageous to the Dutch, was in danger of being demolished. The king's ministers, in Scotland, encouraged the Scots in this undertaking, thinking it would prove abortive; or, by the immense expence, cure them of the inclination of engaging in similar undertakings for the future. During this conduct, in Scotland, his majesty, in the greatest privacy, sent officers to Jamaica, the Leward islands, and the continent of America, and proclamations were issued, in his name, strictly commanding his subjects, on no pretence whatever, to hold correspondence with, or to afford any assistance, by arms, ammunition, provisions or necessaries whatsoever, to the Scots at Darien. In this manner, whilst the Scottish subjects were encouraged at home to compleat their settlements at Darien, they were treated as outlaws abroad, and deprived of every thing necessary for their support. In this state, being attacked by the Spaniards, they were driven from the settlement; and in spite of every application that could be made by all Scotland, no attention was paid to it, no demand was made on the Spaniards to compensate for this violence. But British honour and British interest silently gave way to the more powerful motives of Dutch affection, which reigned predominant in that king's heart; who, from being a petty prince, and servant of the united provinces,

vinces, was exalted to the thrones of three powerful kingdoms.

13. When his present majesty ascended the throne, he chose to have his civil list fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds a year; the same it had been in the reign of king George the second; with this difference only, that the surplus, which had arisen from the revenues appropriated to the payment of it, and had been applied by the preceding ministers to the king's private use, was now to contribute to the national expence, in augmentation of the sinking fund. This surplus was then known to have been very considerable. And since that time, the duties appropriated to the discharge of the civil list, have amounted, on an average of the fourteen years of the present reign, to more than a million annually. In consequence of the preceding establishment of eight hundred thousand pounds, the public has received an annual advantage of two hundred thousand; being in the whole sum two millions eight hundred thousand pounds. But as from this diminution of the usual revenue which arose from the whole duties appropriated thereto, in the reign of king George the second, his majesty's civil list inevitably incurred a debt of six hundred thousand pounds. The ministry, conscious of the advantage which the kingdom had received from the ascertaining of the yearly revenue at the sum above-mentioned, applied to parliament for a grant to discharge the preceding debt; and as it was requested with reason, it was granted with justice. This application was not unprecedented in former reigns, in which no advantage had been derived to the nation, from the surplus of the revenue that exceeded the sum established for the civil list ex-

pences. It is manifest, however, by adding the six hundred thousand pounds raised to the eight hundred thousand yearly income, and then deducting the whole sum from what the king would have received, had the civil list been left as it stood in the reign of his grandfather, that the nation has been benefited in the addition of two million two hundred thousand pounds. Hence it appears, instead of more money being taken from the annual income, to supply the civil list expences of his present majesty, than of king George the second, it may be truly said, that by the limitation of that revenue to 800,000*l.* a year, the king has presented, and the nation received the benefit of 2,200,000*l.* more than it would have done, had the payment remained as indefinite as it did in the preceding reign. And this advantage still continues proportionally to accrue.

But the present patriots, being the spawn of those who were uniformly rebels to the best of kings, and instruments of oppression in the hands of the worst, are silent, respecting the advantages which the nation has acquired; and clamour incessantly against the grant above-mentioned, as the most oppressive that had ever been devised, and the most injurious to the people.

13. During the reign of king William, the civil list was fixed at seven hundred thousand pounds a year; when that sum would purchase double what it will at present. This was obtained under the pretence of a pension, of one hundred thousand pounds to the queen Dowager; and for supporting the household of the duke of Gloucester. To the queen's use he never paid a penny. To the duke of Gloucester's, fifteen thousand pounds only. And he refused to advance one quarter's revenue

to purchase plate and furniture for his royal highness's use. He spent it chiefly on Dutchmen and Renegadoes of their native country, on *one female* favourite, and in the exercise of that sort of vice in which he was so secret; and chiefly in Holland.

14. A standing army is another subject of loud complaint against his present majesty. At the same time, it seems altogether irreconcilable with the state of things, to reduce the number of land-forces, when it is considered, how greatly the dominions of the crown exceed those which it possessed at the revolution: And that the spirit of rebellion was soon manifested after his majesty's ascent to the throne, not only in this kingdom, but on the continent of America. Must it not therefore appear to be an act of insanity to enter on a reduction of the army? For such is the present spirit of the patriots and their populace, it cannot reasonably be called in question, but that the city mob and city apprentices would long since have repeated the like outrages which were perpetrated in the reign of king Charles the first; have driven his present majesty from his palace, or have committed some act of rebellion, even yet more violent against him had no standing troops existed. Would they not have compelled the parliament to perpetrate whatever they demanded, and once more in civil bloodshed have brought their sovereign to the block and subverted the constitution in church and state? even as it is, they, on one occasion, attempted violence on lord North. That this is not a chimerical suggestion is more than probable, from the words of Dr. Priestly, their spiritual champion. That tender-conscienced and loyal teacher, in his essay on the principles of government p. 38. when

speaking of the murder of Charles the first declares, that "such a transaction would have been," which both grammar and sense require to be written *will be*, "an immortal honour to this country, whenever the superstitious notion (the sacredness of kings) shall be obliterated." And if it be not now effectually obliterated, it is not to the supineness or malignancy of him and his brethren, the patriots, that its continuance can be ascribed. Even Dr. Price, in his appeal to the public, p. 39, in enumerating the causes of our present evils, introduces that of "giving security to the Hanover succession. This, says he, is in truth the fundamental grievance of the kingdom; and that patriotism, the first object of which is not the removal of it, can be nothing but an imposture". To expect that such principles will not produce the same effects, which they have hitherto done, is to suppose the order of nature to be absolutely changed. And will it be more absurd to suppose, that the seed of an onion will produce a pine-apple, than that such principles, unchecked, will not generate rebellion. Such are the words of these reverend seekers of the Lord. And will it not embarrass the unmerciful Tommy Townshend, and the modest Mr. Lee to discover any thing in the writings of Dr. Johnson, or myself, so nearly approaching to treason? and yet, to use the words of that *fellow* Lee, "we see no notice taken, no complaint made of Books," wherein the principles of regicides and rebels are impiously professed and publicly promulgated. A standing army is therefore become indispensibly requisite. It was to men of their principles and to serve their own purposes that a standing army was first begun, and causelessly established in this kingdom;

kingdom; and, in consequence of their present exertion of the same principles, it is at length become a necessary measure that it be continued, in order to prevent their republican purposes; and for the security of his majesty and the constitution. Thus the very forces, which they established, by an unforeseen event are become the evident means of suppressing their seditious principles from being carried into execution.

14. When king William ascended the throne, a standing army was unknown in these realms. It was he began and continued it, during life. It was he, and the Whigs, who, in opposition to the Tories, prevented their being diminished below seven thousand forces. And in one year he kept three thousand men in pay more than the number voted by parliament. It was the Tories who insisted on the Dutch guards being sent home; and on the renegado Frenchmen being disbanded. All mankind are acquainted with what reluctance the king submitted to this necessary act. And when the parliament would not consent that he should keep his alien guards, which were an eternal reproach to the honour and fidelity of the English, he said, "if I had a son, by God these Dutch guards should not quit me."

15. Parliamentary corruption, placemen, and pensioners, constitute another charge against the present reign. *That* corruption is undoubtedly great enough. But from the revolution, to his majesty's accession to the throne, the Whigs had so far effaced all sense of national virtue, that the case was, in fact, no longer a corruption spread by the ministry, among the members of parliament; but a demand of the members to be corrupted by the ministry, which would take no denial. For a majority

jority of those delegated defenders of the peoples rights, considered the revenues of places and pensions as a kind of hereditary right established by prescription; and therefore that no minister should be permitted to transact the national business, however advantageous it might prove, without their being previously obtained by pecuniary emoluments. And since we have experimentally found that the exclusion of some placemen has not improved the integrity of the houses, what reason have we to believe that, if not a man of that sort had a seat in either house, that the parliament would be less corrupt, or less compliable with the propositions of the ministers? The commissioners of the customs, excise, stamps, army agents, and a great number of others, are precluded from seats in the house of commons, as men too much under ministerial influence. But is the number in favour of court measures thereby diminished? would it not be better, according to the present and degenerate dispositions of mankind, to have suffered these men to have remained members; because their salaries would then have influenced to nothing more than what is now accomplished by others, at a much greater expence? For now two sets of men are paid for that which might be as well performed by one alone; and the expences saved to the people which are now wasted on the latter. When corruption cannot be cured, which, by the practice of the Whigs, has been fostered and continued through almost a whole century; when religion and national integrity, by their encouragement, also have been laughed into scorn; when all men are convinced that the present complainants in parliament have practised the same corrupt means, when they were in power; and that those who are

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not in that house, are in opposition to the same measures only, because they do not participate in this distribution of corruption; were it not better to admit all placemen and pensioners to sit in the house of commons, and thereby at least to save the public money; since by the uniform experience of eighty-six years, every reasonable expectation of restoring public virtue is at an end?

To what purpose then can annual or triennial parliaments be revived, unless the dispositions of men can be changed by their own votes in the house of commons? by shortening the duration, the price of corruption will increase, since men will be bought whatever it may be. And if they have but one year's market, they know that the business of the state cannot proceed without them; and therefore they will sell their commodity at a higher price. The nation must consequently be taxed for more money; the people be oppressed to provide it; and corruption become more egregious than before, the sole event which is to be expected from annual parliaments. That we have no longer triennial parliaments is owing to the Whigs, those friends of England, who without applying to their constituents for a re-election, most impudently continued the preceding election from three to seven years. It appears from the history of this kingdom that, in the reign of Edward the second, there were almost as many parliaments as years. In that of Richard the second, there were two new parliaments more than the years he reigned; and three in one year. And yet, are these times such as any friend to human kind, or lover of his country, can wish to see restored? can it be deemed an unwarrantable conclusion, that the present men of principles so similar to those of the long parliament,

liament, in the reign of Charles the first, who also roared for triennial parliaments, will, like them also, when become a majority, rob the king of his prerogative, and establish a parliament that can be prorogued and dissolved by themselves alone? are not the rebellious acts of that parliament such as they yearn to imitate? and would they not, at once, by a like law, not only deprive the king of his prerogative, in the antecedent respects; but rob the people of their right of a *general election*, by perpetuating themselves for ever? such were the transactions in those days, when they had the effrontery to pretend, that they took arms in defence of the people's rights and privileges, and for the king himself, against whom they waged war and sought to slay: such will they not proclaim themselves to be, whenever they can find their power is become predominant in the commons.

15. The prince of Orange, in his declaration, asserts, "that his expedition was intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful parliament." The first instance of his sincerity was, to call together those who had been members of any parliaments in the reign of Charles the second. This proceeding was, in fact, a positive interdiction, not only of all those who had been members in the reign of James the second, but of every other subject, except the mayor, aldermen, and the deputies of the common council of London. Of the members, as it was foreseen, those, who had been for excluding king James from the throne, made the largest number. And we are told by Tindal, "the *prince* thought, that besides the suffrages of the peers, it was proper to be authorized by others, which might *pass for those of the people*." And those men, so selected and convened, addressed
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the prince to take upon him the administration of public affairs. And thus this assembly, in the place of a parliament, was elected by the prince of Orange alone, on a subject the most important to a state. One hundred and sixty men, with the mayor, aldermen, and deputies of London, were considered as a majority of the people of England; and the administration of the nation was imparted to him without the least application for the consent of the rest of the nation. A convention was called by the prince of Orange, the members of it were elected, and they placed the crown on the heads of him and the princess Mary, and excluded king James, without consulting the people on that most momentous transaction. It was now that parliamentary corruption, but little practised in the antecedent reigns, was spread with amazing zeal and rapidity; and instead of calling free parliaments, none had hitherto been summoned, in which a tenth part of pecuniary influence had been exerted to supplant the freedom of elections. Burnet says he complained of this corruption to the king. His majesty answered, that it was *impossible* to be prevented. Such being the case, at that time, I imagine that eighty-six years of successive corruption hath not changed that *impossibility* into a thing *practicable*, at present. For, by men of like principles with the present patriots, from 1688, to the accession of his present majesty, that luxuriant plant hath been so carefully manured and watered; hath taken such deep root; and brought forth fruit in such abundance, it appears to be as easy to abolish the existence of parliaments, as to eradicate the corruption of them. And from an unremitting experience, is there not the greatest reason to believe, with the revival of annual parliaments, and with

the virtues of John Wilkes, esq; added to those of the present patriots, in and out of the commons, that the torrent of corruption will still persevere in its wonted rapidity?

16. The sale of places, and frauds committed by those in office, constitute an accusation of the present ministers. I can recollect but one instance in which the former hath been brought to proof. And on that occasion the charge was refuted by a verdict of twelve jurors, in a court of law. Of the other charge the sole evidence hitherto appears to consist in nothing but the clamours of the patriots and the populace.

16. In the reign of king William, Burnet tells us, that places were set to sale by the Whigs; the fleet was victualled with unwholsome food; the army in Ireland left unfurnished with every thing necessary; artillery, horses, carriages, bread, medicines, &c. The duke of Leeds, Trevor, speaker of the commons, Guy, Craggs, and a number of others equally culpable, were impeached for bribery. The parliament was then prorogued, in order to preserve these scandalous offenders from punishment. And an act of indemnity was soon passed to rescind the means of bringing them to justice. Besides which, most egregious abuses, ill practices, and intolerable exactions, by colonels and agents, were perpetrated on the officers and common men. And among the numerous frauds, that of false endorsements on exchequer bills was one, by which vast sums were amassed by men in office. The perpetrators of all these heinous crimes, were altogether unnoticed, or but slightly punished.

17. Another cause of murmuring is the behaviour of the soldiery in their quarters, which exists
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in clamour only, as far as it has hitherto been proved.

17. In the reign of king William, the officers and soldiers extorted subsistence money from those on whom they were quartered, and to this violence they were chiefly induced by the frauds, and withholding of their subsistence money, by their colonels and agents.

18. The diminution of the gold coin of the kingdom was of late become so notorious, that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to that iniquity. This was done by ascertaining the weights at which each piece should pass, according to the reign in which it was struck. This most reasonable proceeding was, nevertheless, a cause of prodigious outcry; although a reform were absolutely indispensable. The event has proved the excellence of the measure; the evil is remedied, and the nation has been put to the expence of 25,000*l.* only for a new coinage.

18. A like diminution of the coin was suffered to take place, so long in the reign of king William, that 1,200,000*l.* (Burnet says it cost 2,200,000*l.*) were raised in parliament, by a tax on windows, for supplying the deficiency of clipped money. Five *per cent* was given as a reward for bringing in unclipped money; and three-pence an ounce for all wrought plate above its real value, and the use of plate was prohibited in public houses. Notwithstanding all this mode of proceeding, which would at this day be pronounced an act of arbitrary power, the distress occasioned by this recalling of the coin was so great, that there was not money sufficient for the payment of servants, labourers, and others, who were in weekly want of their wages. Government tallies and debentures

tures were at forty, fifty, and sixty, exchequer, and even bank bills at twenty *per cent.* discount, Such is the infinite disparity between the measures taken by the ministry, in the reign of the glorious king William, and by those in this of his present majesty.

19. Are not the marriages of their royal highnesses the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, unprecedented instances of two brothers engaging in matrimonial contracts, without previously declaring their intentions to him who was their brother and their sovereign? Precedents in this kingdom, without respect to their good or evil tendencies, are too frequently considered as authorities adequate to a justification for similar behaviour on subsequent occasions, as if the sole circumstance of preceding could impart a sanction to all that might follow of a like nature. I believe if Cain had slain his brother Abel, in England, the present patriots would have brought that fratricide as an argument against the justice of his present majesty, had he permitted one brother to be put to death for the murder of the other, provided it could promote their conscientious purposes. His majesty, on the antecedent events, having considered the numerousness of his children, and the ill effects which might arise from intermarriages between the royal family and those of his subjects, entered on a resolution of preventing such ill effects by anticipation; and before it could have the least appearance of answering any intention against any prince descended from his grandfather.

It was therefore enacted, that no person lineally descended from that king, should legally contract a marriage, without the previous consent of his majesty, his heirs, or successors. But if any such de-

descendant, above the age of twenty-five years, shall persist in such intention of matrimony, upon giving notice to the privy-council of such intention, after the expiration of one year, he or she shall be permitted to marry; notwithstanding the king may not have consented to it; unless the parliament, during that time, shall expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. It is not easy to suggest a method that at once so justly unites the claims of national felicity with those of nature. Such princes are prohibited from marrying, without the king's consent, only until they become well informed of the consequences which may probably ensue such contracts. They are then free from their sovereign's controul, and left to the two houses of parliament, without his assent required to their determinations. If the marriage appear to be reasonable, it will certainly be approved; if not, it rests on the houses to justify their refusal. And yet, so propitiously promising to preclude innumerable ill effects, as this act indisputably is, it was not the less an object of patriotic calumny.

19. Such an act, as the preceding, could find no place in the regn of king William. Queen Mary had no children, nor did I ever hear that Elizabeth Villiers, or any favourite, male or female, was ever suspected of being, in a breeding state, from any intercourse with that prince, bishop Burnet excepted. And even that suspicion of the prelate was entertained by himself alone. The bishop, in whom credulity and truth were as distant from each other as the two poles, paid an implicit obedience to the dictates of the former, and totally disregarded those of the latter. To his honour, however, it must be allowed, that he never diminished his native stock of verity, thro' the

the practice of his life. For, in all his relations, he constantly made use of *that* only which is either *more* or *less* than the *truth*; and hence, having never touched the truth itself, he went out of the world possessed of the whole original stock with which he came into it. As to his credulity, although it were daily wasted to the bones, yet, like the liver of Prometheus, what was devoured in the day, was regenerated in the night; and it never suffered a real lessening to the hour of his expiration. In consequence of this profligate credulity, this right reverend œconomist of veracity being occasionally indisposed, by an advertisement was informed where a certain quack doctor might be found, who by *casting* his lordship's water, could not only discover his disease, but send him a cure, without the intervention of a personal enquiry into his complaints. Credulity seized on the occasion, and a servant was dispatched to this quack, with a phial of his holy water. But such were the effects of fate, that neither the sanctity of the bishop's manners, nor the preservation of his precious health, could prevent the phial from being broken in the carrying. The servant, who possessed, at least, as much sense as his master, thought that the water of one person might prove as good for the present purpose, as that of another, and being apprehensive of being chidden also, if the accident were discovered, bought a phial, and knowing that water, fresh made, would create some suspicion in the doctor, entered a beer house, and desired that the phial might be filled with some water that had been made during the night. The good woman of the house, who was, it seems; breeding, filled it with her own, and away trudged the servant to the physical inspector of urine.

On his return, the bishop cried out, "Weel Mon, what kens the doctor of my urine?" My lord, says Sandy, "after meckle leuking on the water, he e'en told me, the person who made that water is with bairn." "Ah! geud God, cried his lordship, I always told his majesty what it would at length come to. †*I myself saw a great deal of this management, for I was then at court.*"

20. The displeasure against the princes for their marriages, was another article of resentment against his majesty, by the patriots, who presume to censure his private as much as his public conduct. But certainly no sovereign hath ever shewn so little dislike on so unexampled an occasion. It is true, they do not appear at court, and there it ends. In all other respects, no mark of resentment is shewn either by his majesty or the queen.

20. King William and queen Mary resented the application of the princess Anne to parliament, for fixing her revenue, when she so justly declined the dependence on the generosity of a Dutchman for the payment of her income. This behaviour was so offensive to king William and queen Mary, who suspected that this application had proceeded from the advice of the dutchess of Marlborough, that

† As the writer of this account had no other authority than his own assertion, to authenticate the above passage, and as, in all probability, he was not born till thirty years after the event could have happened, it recurred to him that the truth of it might possibly be called in question. Notwithstanding this single circumstance, he still expects that it will obtain the credit which it deserves. Since it is to the full as practicable for the writer to have been at the court of London, before he was born, as it was for Burnet to be at Whitehall, before he left Scotland. And yet, on such kind of evidence, much of his lordship's history depends.

that they ordered the princess to dismiss her from her service : and because she would not comply with this injunction, she was forbidden the court. In this disunion the sisters remained ; and the pious queen Mary set out to answer for this want of natural affection, in another world, without desiring to be reconciled to her only sister in this.

21. Another modest charge of the patriots against his majesty is, that of violating the grants made in royal charters to the Americans, by the preceding kings of England ; and in presuming to extend into the colonies the legislative right of taxation by the parliament of Great Britain ; which, as these subjects assert, is done with intent to enslave the *good people* of America. But will these Americans and their confederates, in this kingdom, uniformly allow, that the royal prerogative can, by grants, constitutionally annihilate the authority of the British legislature ? will not this be to acknowledge and support, that a more excessive power remains at present in the crown than was extirpated by the bill of rights ? by that bill, the king is inhibited from suspending or dispensing with laws already made ; but by the prerogative, for which the patriots and the Americans contend, the parliamentary power of making laws, in this realm, respecting America, is not only suspended and dispensed with, but absolutely annihilated by the king. Because, by his prerogative, he can rescind it from parliament, and bequeath it to the colonies. Is this doctrine coincident with that which is so vehemently urged against exerting the prerogative-royal, even to the preservation of the people from starving ? But, to men of their principles, every excess of that power is lawful ; and the least legal exertion of it a violence, as each of them may quadrate with their designs.

signs. They never have allowed, nor ever will allow, any measure to be just or unjust, but as it corresponds with or opposes their purposes. Has not the legislature abolished the ancient rights of the church, of suit and service in the field and at the courts of kings, and barons, of marriage, ward, foccage and villain service; together with a multiplicity of others, so solemnly granted, in magna charta, by compact between the sovereign and his subjects, consecrated by the solemn rites and sanction of religion, and confirmed more than thirty times in parliament? and, were not these amazing changes accomplished by the legislature, in proportion as the progressive alteration in manners, the augmentation of riches, and the welfare of the state required them? But it seems the grants of kings, to the subjects in America, are to be held more sacred and inviolate than the great charter of England. And the power of the two houses, added to that of the sovereign, on the present state of circumstances in America, so different from that which existed when their charters were originally granted, is to remain inert, and supinely see the colonies dismembered from their mother country. It should seem a parliament can lawfully do every thing in Great Britain, and nothing in America. The king can neither revoke his grants, nor the parliament alter them, whatever may be the emergencies which demand it.

In objection to the right of taxing them by parliament, they answer, that they have an exclusive privilege by charter, to tax themselves, by their own assemblies, by whom it can alone be equitably done. But do these grants expressly exclude the legislative authority of this kingdom from making laws to levy money in America? and if they do, is there

an Englishman uninfatuated with the present patriotism, or unactuated by sinister motives, who would not exclaim against the validity of such a pretended right in the crown? would not even these patriotic malcontents be then the first to roar against kings, for infracting the rights, subverting the liberties, destroying the constitution, and enslaving the people? but now it seems right, liberty and constitution are all to be preserved by sustaining that very prerogative-royal, which, on other occasions, they so much affect to execrate and confine. Innumerable are the charters granted by kings to corporations in this kingdom, by which they are authorised to levy money for their own uses; but are these corporations, by these charters, protected from the payment of parliamentary imposts?

Have not the Americans, by their charters, the right also of making laws for themselves? will not the same arguments, therefore, which are urged in favour of their disobedience to taxation, be equally coercive in every other legislative ordinance? and from thence, will it not as logically result, that the parliament of Great Britain has not the least right to enact such laws, as may, in the least degree, or in any instance, effect the Americans in their several provinces? and then, will not that exemption amount to an absolute independancy on the legislative authority of this realm? a conclusion, which, I should think, can hardly be warranted by the constitutions, either of Great Britain, or of the colonies.

Besides the preceding objection of these republican malcontents, to comply with the acts which are made, respecting taxations on them in the provinces, they alledge, in their defence also, that
they

they have no right of electing members; and therefore are not represented in the house of commons, none to superintend their concerns, and to assist in laying taxes by their own consent, as it is the undoubted privilege of all those subjects who reside in Great Britain: but in this they must consciously offer what they know to be untrue. For, in this predicament, they stand exactly on a level with nine parts in ten of the subjects of this kingdom, who have no elective right. But the rights of election, and of being represented, are distinct things. For the instant the members are elected by the *few*, they become the representatives of *all*. Unless this were the case, all those subjects, who have copyhold estates to any value, money in the funds, or on mortgages, to any amount whatever, who annually trade and manufacture for great sums, as well as innumerable others, who have not freeholds of forty shillings a year, or are entitled to vote by freedom, burgage tenure, or other qualification of the several cities and towns, which send members to parliament, are not represented. A conclusion to which, I imagine, no Briton will accede. The Americans, therefore, although they be without the right of election, are nevertheless possessed of that of being represented, as fully as that great majority of non-electors who inhabit this island. Being therefore, in a like condition, they ought, for that reason, to pay the like obedience to the acts of this legislature, with those who dwell in England, and are not entitled to the privilege of election.

Should this vast majority of non-electing constituents presume to withhold the taxes, which are imposed on them, for the preceding reasons, which they may as justly urge as the Americans, would

these be arguments sufficient to protect them from a compulsory payment? the counties palatine of Chester and Durham had, and now have laws peculiar to themselves. The former sent no members to parliament, till late in the reign of Henry the eighth; the latter, in that of Charles the second. Were they, before they sent members, without the reach of parliamentary taxation? were not their grants as valid, and their objections as reasonably to be made, as by the Americans; but did that avail them?

Before the American stamp act was made, what instance is there to be found, that these restiff subjects conceived the idea of not being represented in parliament? did they ever abstain from applying thereto, on all occasions, which might serve their purposes and promote their interest? during the last war, when they boasted to expel the French from Canada, if arms were sent them, and when that request was complied with, it was found, by experience, that all their fanatic vauntings expired in wind; and that the Canadians, who were not a tenth part of their number, would have driven them into the Atlantic ocean. On this distress, did they not conceive themselves to be represented in parliament, and apply for an army to save them from destruction? and was not that succour sent and supported, at an immense expence, to this kingdom? By this act alone, were they not preserved from the hands of their enemies? and now they presume to resist the British right of taxing them, by that very legislature, from whom they sought and received their temporal salvation. Such hath been, is, and ever will be the thankless returns of those men, from whose hearts it would be excessively more difficult to eradicate ingratitude,

tude, than to divest arsenic of the power of poisoning.

It should seem then, that these graceless subjects consider the people of England as their slaves, to labour, and to find men and money for their service and defence : and that they are our masters, at full liberty to raise or withhold either of them as they please, whatever may be the emergencies that may happen in this part of the world. In fact, we are to be at all the expence of treasure and of blood, and they to reap the advantage of it, without contributing one shilling, or one man, towards the demands of either of them. Would not this insolence, if indulged, be adequate to the folly of tossing up a halfpenny on the ridiculous conditions, that, by heads, the *Americans* win, and by tails, *we* in England lose. If the spirit of a Briton and a loyal subject can bear this insult on his understanding, on his property, and on his right of preserving life in common with all other his majesty's subjects, their souls are not made, at present, of the same estimable materials with those of their ancestors. I will appeal to the common sense of all those, who are acquainted with the principles of those trans-Atlantic sectaries, whether, in times of war, without the legislative obligation of the parliament, they would raise a shilling that was not to be solely applied to their own particular advantages ? are these the subjects who are to be permitted to resist the laws of Britain, and to be indulged with raising their own taxes on all emergencies ? to them is his majesty to apply, by requisition, for supplies to be levied at their option ? and is the legislature of Great Britain to remain in-
 exertive of her constitutional rights, and to be so flagitiously treated by such rebellious ingrates ? Brit-
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tons, Britons, if you have lost all sensation for the honour of your king and country, feel for your lives and properties at least; and suffer not yourselves to be thus audaciously insulted by those Americans, who dare to treat you as men subservient to their purposes, and to fix on you alone the whole expence of peace and war. Will you tamely behold those enemies to your constitution, to withhold themselves from danger, and their money from contributing to the general cause at their pleasure? such, however, is the despicable state to which the present patriots, those protectors of your rights and liberties, are labouring to reduce you! can such men be the friends of their country? but such hath been the audacious insolence of these American sectaries; for such alone are engaged in this rebellious opposition to the king that even the right of taxing the Americans, by a British parliament, is no longer the object in dispute. For since the legislature thought proper to enact, that teas, carried to America, should, on landing, be subject to a small duty, the state of the case is changed entirely. It is no longer a contest, whether they shall be taxed by parliament; but, whether goods, exported from Great Britain, shall be landed in America. The payment of this tax was altogether optional in the people of that continent. For, unless it were consumed, no revenue could be derived from the import: and every man was left at will to be a consumer or not. But such were the sentiments which these disloyal subjects entertained of their own integrity, and such their confidence in each other, that conscious of their internal rottenness of soul, they were convinced, that should that commodity be permitted to be set on shore, their interested patriotism

triotism would not prevent its being consumed. The Bostonians, therefore, disregarding the claims of common honesty, as well as law, if any share of the former virtue did then remain among them, boarded the ship by force; rifled the cargo; threw it into the river, and thus committed felony. Such was the unpardonable contempt which they manifested to the laws of Great Britain. These are the men who still protest they are meritorious and loyal subjects; and who are encouraged and defended by the patriots in this their unexampled outrage.

The event has evinced that the magistrates of Boston either had not the power or the inclination to put the laws in execution against those rebellious plunderers; the latter of which is well known to be the truth. That the governor was not armed with powers, nor possessed of sufficient authority to compel them to it, is an indubitable fact. And yet, according to patriotic and presbyterian doctrine, this most atrocious insult on the legislative body of this kingdom is to be left entirely to the cognizance of their own magistrates, who, it is certain, will pay no more attention to it, than necessity shall compel them to. Would not that, in fact, be adequate to a plenary indulgence in the crime? Not a felon of them has been apprehended: and if ten thousand of them had been tried for ten thousand murders, committed in that or the like transaction, they would have been acquitted to a man with exultation, and with triumph over justice. Are these men with impunity to riot in their outrages; to remain unamenable to all courts of law; and, be secured from condign punishment, because they and their magistrates are equally excited by the same rebellious principles? do they deserve to enjoy

joy the protection of the laws against thieves, in this kingdom, who are advocates for such criminals in America?

Are those audacious men, who have thus forcibly committed, not only felony, but high crimes, and misdemeanours, if not treason against the state, to receive no chastisement from the legislature? is not the sanction of the laws, which was violated by force, to be restored by force legally established to that end? but lenient and temporising measures are, alone, to be adopted and pursued, say the modest patriots. The Romans never temporised but once. They were speedily convinced of that folly, abstained from all repetition of a similar mistake, and, by that resolution, subdued the world. Half measures destroy the best designs. The minister, on occasions like the present, that deliberates is lost. Not only he, but even the dignity of the crown, and the happiness of the people sink therewith. But I trust that an ill-timed and injudicious lenity will not avert the success of so just and so national a cause. For there are times in which the strict application of a proper power can alone preserve a nation's welfare.

In no instance of outrageous violation of the legislative authority, hath such an indulgence been shewn to criminals, so egregiously offending. In return for all this violence, what has hitherto proved to be the infliction on the perpetrators? the Bostonians are prohibited, by law, from exporting, and from importing, in the port of Boston only, with penalties annexed to transgressions of that law: which, however, does not extend to the prohibition of fuel. Another place is appointed for the meeting of their assemblies, and a port also is appropriated to the purposes of navigation.

And

And such offenders, as it is well known will not be treated with the justice of that punishment which their crimes demand, may be now sent hither to be tried, in the courts of this kingdom, in which there is no shadow of pretence that the laws will be unjustly carried into execution. Can the history of all ages produce one instance of so lenient a proceeding against such egregious offenders? added to this, a general and some troops, with a few ships of war, are ordered to prevent the like outrages for the future; and to provide that these acts of the legislature be not insulted and rendered effete, by a like rebellious action as the former were. This is the whole exertion of legislative authority which has hitherto been enacted, relative to the Bostonian rebels, on which such a tumultuous outcry of infringed charters, and intended slavery is bellowed through the realm, against his majesty, his parliament, and his ministers. Did either Cromwell or the glorious king William possess the supreme power at this time, the former, who knew the insidious dispositions of the presbyterians; and the latter, who never failed severely to inflict those with punishment, who opposed his will, would not permit these rebels to persevere in such resistance, and escape on such easy terms? would they not then have reason to lament the want of that mercy which they now decry as criminal, in their sovereign, on the throne.

But, in order to obviate all objection against the king, his parliament and ministers, respecting the conduct which has been adopted and pursued in the preceding instance, I will take up the principles and opinions of those patriots, relative to the sovereigns of Great Britain and their ministers; suppose, for a while, that his majesty is no-

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thing more than a chief magistrate and trustee for the people; and that his ministers are obliged to advise and execute that alone which is just, and most likely to be advantageous to the whole community, whether in Britain, America, or other place whatever.

Is it not an invariable maxim of sound polity, that all those, who are subjects to the same state, should be equally obedient to the acts of her legislature? can there be any thing more just than that all such should contribute their proper proportion of supplies, both in men and money, for sustaining all national exigencies? and is it not the indispensable duty of such a king and of his ministers to apply to the supreme legislative power, and to obtain such acts as may compel those revolters from their constitutional allegiance, who would withhold themselves from such duties, to become obedient to the laws, and contribute to the support and welfare of the state? are not these the measures which his majesty and his ministers have pursued? could such conduct have been omitted without the just charge of inattention and neglect on a chief magistrate, and trustee of the British people? are Great Britain and Ireland alone to raise the national supplies, and the Americans to be left untaxed by the British parliament, would not that partiality to the latter be an oppression on the former; and his majesty, on patriotic principles, be a most delinquent magistrate, and faithless trustee? hence then, whether the king be considered as he constitutionally *is*, or according to the sentiments of patriots and sectaries, what reasonable objection can be framed against his present measures in Boston? shall the Americans contribute their treasure, or not; determine what shall be im-
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ported from this kingdom to his majesty's colonies; and exported from thence, as they please, and be indulged in this flagitious breach of allegiance? and lastly, will you Britons, and Hibernians, who are loyal subjects, be tamely and alone doomed to every expence, in men and money, which the kingdom may require, whilst the Americans are exempted from both? join, therefore, with cheerfulness and resolution, to support the undoubted rights of your sovereign and yourselves; exert your endeavours to suppress their rebellious proceedings in America; and treat, with honest indignation, all those in these kingdoms, who justify their insults, and defend their cause, as enemies to the constitution, to your sovereign, and to the honour and welfare of the British realms in Europe. For, in whatever light the conduct of your king, his parliament, and ministry, may be represented by designing men, to the eyes of integrity, on this occasion, their actions ill appear to be deserving the utmost applause a loyal and a happy people can bestow.

21. In the reign of king William, there seems to be nothing similar to the preceding conduct. The honour and the interest of England, during that time, appear not to have been attended to with much sincerity. His exertions were to obtain money from his English subjects, to maintain the honour and the interests of the Dutch; by charter, to surrender the rights of the whole nation into the hands and tyranny of a trading company; and tamely to suffer his British subjects to be driven from their American settlements, by the Spaniards, when the interests of the Dutch required it.

22. Another most atrocious accusation against his majesty hath been diligently, and with frequent repetition promulged through his whole domini-

ons. It is nothing less than that of having broken his coronation oath, in assenting to the act for making more effectual provision for the government of Quebec. Let me transcribe this oath, that the audacious injustice of this calumny may be clearly shewn to the world.

It is, "that his majesty solemnly promises and swears to govern the people of this kingdom of Great Britain, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same."

Is not this Quebec bill a statute agreed on in parliament, and are not the laws and customs of the Canadians those by which they are to be governed? where then is the breach in this instance? nevertheless, on this account, amazing clamours have been raised, as if this law were intended to extirpate all trials by juries: than which nothing can be less true. At the request of the Canadians, their civil causes are to be adjudged, according to the laws and customs which have always existed among them; and from which it was impracticable to deviate, without endangering, by an infinity of litigious pursuits, the claims, titles, and securities by which their properties had been hitherto secured.

But respecting the proceedings, in criminal law, "it is enacted, that the same shall continue to be administered, and shall be observed, as law, in the province of Quebec, as well in the *description* and *quality* of the offence, as in the *method* of *prosecution* and *trial*; and the punishments and forfeitures thereby inflicted, to the exclusion of every other rule of criminal law, or mode of proceeding thereon, which did or might prevail in the said province, before the year of our lord 1764."

Thus

Thus the penal law of England and trial by *juries*, which the patriots assert to be abolished, is, by this very act, established in Canada, at the desire of the people who knew the benefits and advantages resulting from their use ; for like reasons, as the former laws and mode of trial of the Canadians were preserved. Are *juries* then abolished in Quebec, when the same method of trial is preserved, as in the criminal law of England ? is arbitrary power extended, either in penal or civil causes, when in both instances, the inclinations of the Canadian subjects are complied with ? from what motive then did this notorious calumny of annihilating *juries* and establishing *slavery* in Quebec proceed ? from that insatiable lust of falsifying in the presbyterians and other sectaries. “ For, to reproach their sovereign with lying asseverations, is inseparable from such men, so intimately is the spirit of falsehood amalgamated with the drops of which they are composed, that divide them, as far as matter is divisible, and a lie shall be found in every atom.”

The next article is “that the king, to his power, cause the law and justice in mercy to be executed in all his judgements.” And this obligation, it should seem, according to the humanity of patriots, his majesty has observed with a criminal excess.

The last article is, “that the king, to the utmost of his power, will maintain the laws of God ; the true profession of the gospel ; and the protestant reformed religion, as by law established : and will preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges, as do, or shall by law appertain unto them, or any of them.”

Let

Let me now enquire, whether any thing contained in the Quebec act be repugnant to the preceding article of the coronation oath. Do these propagators of falsehood conceive that, by this article of his coronation oath, his majesty is obliged to maintain the church of England, as the only true profession of the gospel; and the protestant religion, by law established, through all his dominions, whether they be such as he possessed when he took that oath, or since acquired by conquest? if that be their idea, presbyterianism must be extirpated in Scotland; the Roman Catholic religion, in Minorca; mahometanism, and the religion of the Hindoos in Bengal, and the Carnatic. Can all this be inferred from the word *maintain*? it was never meant to be more than supporting the church of England, where it was then established, and is not this indisputably evinced by the subsequent particular? "that he will preserve to the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their care, all such rights and privileges as do, or shall, by law, appertain unto them." Are the churches and temples of the dominions out of England committed to the episcopal care? In this instance, then, is there the minutest cause for that atrocious calumny of infraction of faith, respecting the coronation oath?

In fact, the malignity, the falsehood, the ignorance, or a combination of all these qualities, have either blinded the intellects of patriots and presbyterians, or prevented their acknowledging, that *popery* and the *Roman Catholic religion* are not necessarily conjoined. For certain it is, that the discipline of a church may be changed; the supremacy and jurisdiction imparted to another head; and yet, the articles of faith, the doctrine, the mode of worship, and the forms of prayer, may remain unaltered;

tered. Such was the real state of things, when Harry the eighth had finished the reformation, as far as he intended it. At that time, the papal power was totally extinct in England; and the Roman Catholic remained to be the established religion. In this manner, it now exists in Canada, and a reformation is begun, in that province, by his present majesty, by means as laudable, just, and humane, as the former were replete with the opposite qualities.

But let this act, respecting popery, speak for itself. "And for the more perfect security and ease of the minds of the inhabitants of the said province, it is hereby declared, that his majesty's subjects, professing the religion of the church of Rome, of, and in, the said province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free exercise of the religion of the church of Rome, *subject to the king's supremacy*, declared and established by an act made in the first year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, over all the dominions and countries which then did, or hereafter should belong, to the imperial crown of this realm: and that the clergy of the said church may hold, receive and enjoy, their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such *persons only as shall profess the said religion.*"

Hence, is it not evident, that the *king's supremacy* is established in Canada, and the *papal* abolished? And, by the act of Elizabeth, above referred to, all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is annexed to the crown; and neither the pope, nor other foreign potentates, can exercise any power or authority in this kingdom. And thus his majesty is equally the supreme head of the church of Rome, in Canada, as he is of the protestant church, in England, and of presbytery, in Scotland. On those terms, these catholics can only have, hold,
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and enjoy the free exercise of their religion; and then only, in such a manner, that no protestant is obliged to pay one farthing of the accustomed dues and rights which formerly appertained to the Roman Catholic clergy, and which the catholics must continue to pay. In order to enjoy this toleration also, they are obliged to take the following oath. " I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George, and him will defend, to the utmost of my power, against all traiterous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose, and make known to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies, and attempts which I shall know to be against him, or any of them; and all this I do swear. without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation, and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any power or person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me God."

Hence, it is indisputable, that every Canadian, taking this oath, doth solemnly depose all that can be desired, to bind him to the defence of the king, and all that is requisite to be renounced, respecting the pope, and other potentates. His allegiance is as far acknowledged and secured to his majesty, as the sacredness of an oath can ascertain it. And this oath is not to be refused, but under the subsequent penalty; "that every person who shall neglect or refuse to take the said oath, before-mentioned, shall incur, and be liable to the same penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, and incapacities, as he would have incurred, and been liable to, for neglecting or refusing to take the oath required by
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the said statute, passed in the first year of the reign of queen Elizabeth." These penalties, forfeitures, &c. are, "that all offenders shall be out of the king's protection; forfeit their lands and goods; be imprisoned and ransomed at the king's pleasure; and, if not to be found, they are to be outlawed."

Such are the conditions, on which alone the Canadians can enjoy their religion, and hold their lands and possessions; and even from these the religious orders and communities are excepted. In this manner, convents, both of men and women, must insensibly decline. No more of either sex can be secluded in such retreats; because no means of sustenance will remain for such persons. At the same time, with this provision to suppress monasteries, all due encouragement is given for protestants to settle in that country. Since his majesty "can make such provision, out of the rest of the accustomed dues and rights of the catholic clergy, as may suffice for the maintenance of protestant divines of the church of England, as he shall think expedient."

Such are the excellent institutions, contained in this law, respecting the Canadians. Popery is abolished. The bringing of any bull, order, or other pretended authority, from the papal see, or other state, is attended with a *præmunire*. The Roman Catholic religion is subjected to the king's supremacy. The monastic orders must imperceptibly decay without the cruelty of turning numbers of inoffensive men from their abodes to starve, as it had been so inhumanly done in England. No bloody articles are instituted, for all men to acknowledge, as by Henry the eighth. The civil laws and courts of justice of Canada are preserved; the criminal are established to be the same, and
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their causes to be tried by juries, as in England. The possessions of laymen and ecclesiastics are established, excepting those of the regular clergy; for the propagation of the church of England, and the support of her clergy, it is amply provided. In fact, no circumstance seems to be omitted, which humanity and the christian faith can dictate: nothing enjoined, but what good polity hath suggested, and reason can support. And in no reign, since this kingdom hath existed, is there to be found one instance, in which the wisdom of the institution is so perfectly united with the precepts of Christ, and the virtues that dignify the best of men. In this place, it is impossible to abstain from declaring that, to the immortal honour of the prelacy of this realm, they have, in the enacting of this law, afforded the most undeniable proof, that, by the doctrines which are taught in the evangelical writings, their actions have been truly directed. Among the bishops, consisting of more than twice the number of the apostles; but one speech-printing Iscariot is to be found. Such is, in fact, the true state of the Canadian statute, for which the patriots and presbyterians so audaciously defame their sovereign, his ministers, and the parliament itself. And I shall now ask, on what pretext, effrontery can dare to assert the coronation oath has not been inviolably preserved?

22. When king William came to the throne, he took the very oath before inserted. The first article, "of governing the people according to the statutes, laws, and customs," he violated by keeping three thousand men in arms beyond the number limited by an express statute, to omit all other instances.

The second article, "that law and justice, in mercy, were to be executed in all his judgments," was inhumanly violated by the Glencoe massacre, authorized by his own hand, and the assassins were preserved from punishment. Such was the union of justice and mercy in that prince, in the pardon and pension of that nefarious perjurer Titus Oates; in assenting to the bill of attainder of Sir John Fenwick; and in a multiplicity of other instances.

The third article of "the coronation oath to maintain the protestant church, established in this kingdom," was observed in the subsequent manner, in his first speech from the throne. "And as I doubt not, says he, you will sufficiently provide against papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all protestants, that are willing and able to serve." In consequence of this design, a bill was brought into the house of lords, "for the abrogating of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and appointing other oaths." Thus the sacramental test was to be abolished, in order to admit every kind of dissenter into place and office. But this intention was rejected by a great majority. The lords had not then forgotten, nor ever will, I trust, forget, that those very dissenters had murdered their *king*; driven *them* for being a part in the legislature, subverted the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil; shed the blood of thousands and ten thousands of their fellow subjects; robbed them of their patrimonies and possessions, and filled the realm with rapine, desolation, and slaughter.

This test, so grievously complained against by the present sectaries, is obligatory on none but such as accept either civil or military offices. It may then

also be taken, any time within twelve months, and then omitted, on the penalty of 500*l*. To excuse offenders also an act is annually passed. And who are there, the quakers excepted, among the swarms of sectaries, that refuse this test, when either ambition or interest attend the taking of it? Do they not, on all such occasions, solemnly depose, on oath, rendered still more awful by receiving the eucharist, that the king is, alone, both head of the church and state; then immediately absolve themselves from that sacred obligation, and remain professing a contrary opinion, in both respects, during life? on the other hand, the Roman Catholics, who, as these sectaries assert, may constantly receive absolution from their priest, for breach of oath, and sacramental test, dare not to enter into those obligations; although to forswear themselves be a crime, the punishment for which may be instantly averted by a priest. But such is the difference, that, whilst every catholic refuses to take the oaths, altho' he may be absolved by papal power, every presbyterian is himself a pope, or confessor, commits the sins he likes, pronounces his own pardon, and absolves himself. Such is the daily practice of all those sectaries.

A toleration, however, king William obtained for them. How well they deserve that indulgence, their present writings and transactions speak aloud.

When king William took the coronation oath of Scotland, he swore to maintain the protestant church of that kingdom, which was then episcopal, like the reformed church of England. The impression which was made by that sacred obligation was soon effaced from his conscience: he speedily abolished that church, and established presbytery in its place.

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To evince also how much the spirit of toleration actuated his conduct, a law was made, by which all persons, educated in the catholic religion, or even suspected of it, who should succeed to any estates, before 18 years of age, were obliged to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; and the test, as soon as they came to age. Until this was done, the estate was to devolve to the next of kin, being protestant; and to return on taking the oaths. All popish priests were banished; and, on return, adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. Burnet voted for this bill, and says, "that if a government find any *sect*, in religion, *incompatible with its quiet and safety, it might, and sometimes ought to send away all that sect, with as little hardship as possible.*" Were this doctrine now carried into a law, what a blessed transportation would speedily take place, from this kingdom and the colonies.

Such was the difference with which the dissenters and the Roman catholics were then treated, although the land were still reeking with the blood of king and subjects, slaughtered by the former; and with that of catholics, unjustly put to death for a plot which never had conception, but in the heads of regicides, perjurers, and presbyterians. At this time also, the intended assassination of king Charles the second, at the Rye-house, was fresh in all mens memories. By whom then has the coronation oath been violated; by your present sovereign, or by king William?

Such then being the true state of all those accusations, which the malignancy of the patriotic, and sectarian tribes have so falsely and so injuriously propagated against their lawful king; and such the true state of facts, respecting king William, I shall

now

now proceed to consider both sovereigns, relative to their public and their private virtues.

1. When his majesty ascended the throne of these realms, the nation was involved in the most expensive war that had ever exhausted it. It was become visible to all men of understanding, as the fate of nations no longer depends on the most powerful arm, but on the longest supply of money; that, although our fleets and armies should be attended with uninterrupted conquest, the impracticability of supplying the expence would speedily reduce this nation, to accept such terms as the vanquished might think fit to impose on the conqueror. The first paternal care of the king, was to attempt the re-establishment of peace, whilst we still preserved our ascendancy in arms. Lord Chatham, then in power, was not unknowing, that the disposition of the English is to be eternally displeased with every pacification, however advantageous to their country. And that the loss of popularity would inevitably attend whoever should conclude hostilities. For this, and other secret reasons, he evaded that task. The ministry was soon changed, and the war pursued with more invariable success than during his presiding in public affairs. Martinico and the Havannah, in the West-Indies, and Manilla, in the East-Indies, were taken; besides a multiplicity of other victories too numerous to be mentioned. And through the whole conduct of the war, since the change of ministers, every undertaking was adequate to the purpose for which it was intended. Two expeditions were not necessary for compleating the same conquest. Millions were not thrown away on the reducing of an island, not worth a groat. Fortune no longer seemed to exult in elevating a minister

minister into admiration, by giving success to armaments naturally disproportioned to the attempt; but victory was the result of properly planning the expeditions, and of preparations adequate to the accomplishment. An honourable peace was then concluded, of which we now see the excellence and importance. From that moment, the expences were lessened, as far as it was practicable, and the debts have been since that time diminished more than ten millions of money. The glory of the nation was never so great among foreign potentates; the commerce of the realm never so extensive; nor the administration so free from every attempt to oppress the people, or to infringe their liberties. We have no German subsidies, nor inclination to disturb the tranquility of Europe; to exhaust our treasure; and to lavish the lives of Britons in support of alien interests.

1. When king William was presented with three kingdoms, the nation was in peace. He immediately imbrued our hands in blood, and wasted our treasure to aggrandize the Dutch, and carry his vengeance into execution against Lewis the fourteenth, for opposing his arbitrary intentions on his native country. At his accession, 2,061,856*l.* was the whole sum that was annually levied. With this a civil list, a formidable fleet, and an army of almost thirty thousand men had been raised and maintained; 362,491*l.* were saved out of that sum, according to account given into parliament; and the nation was absolutely unincumbered with debt. During the thirteen sessions of parliament, in king William's reign, 54,417,782*l.* were raised; in one year, 11,530,159*l.* and on an average, 4,185,983*l.* Your lands and necessities of life were greatly taxed, and a debt left



left for us and our posterity of 17,000,000*l.* During this time, king William was defeated in every battle, in Flanders; he won that of the Boyne, in Ireland; and was forced to raise even the siege of Limerick. A scandalous peace was concluded, exclusive of the French protestants. The king had effectually lost all credit with the English, they considered him as totally estranged from their welfare, and as one whose word was not to be believed. For these reasons, queen Anne, in her first speech, informed her parliament, "*that her heart was truly English; and that they should always find her a strict and religious observer of her word.*" All the true friends of the English constitution received intelligence of his death with pleasure; the presbyterian, sectaries, and Dutch alone, heard of it with regret. The honour and the glory of the kingdom was so egregiously sunk, that the lords, in their address to the queen, after her first speech from the throne, express, that her speech would have the same effect, both at home and abroad, of *equally reviving the hearts of her allies and subjects.* And so much had the crown lands been lessened, by grants of king William, that, in the civil list act, then made, the sum of 700,000*l.* a year, for that purpose, out of which, the queen annually presented 100,000*l.* to the public expences, was fixed so high, as it is said, because the great grants made by king William had so much decreased the revenues arising from the crown lands. In his reign, parliamentary corruption was begun, continued, increased, and entailed on the people. A standing army was first raised and established, and the kingdom involved in debts and continental connections; and all the necessaries of life first loaded with the payment of taxes,

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1. So much for the *public Virtues* of these two princes. Since the day of his majesty's accession to the throne, he has shewn his paternal care, by endeavouring to lessen the prices of the necessaries of life. He prohibited the exportation of corn to preserve his people from famine, for which royal benignity, he was most indignantly treated; by being obliged to assent to an act, that by an ungrateful implication expressed a stretch of his prerogative. Since that time, he hath recommended it to his parliament, to whom the redress of such grievances alone belongs. And that no remedy has been hitherto produced, is neither to be imputed to the king, nor to his ministers. For, by what means can the landed interest be induced to lessen the prices of provisions, the rents of whose estates have so augmented with that oppression of the people? can his majesty, by his prerogative, or his ministers, by their interest, subdue the profligacy and lessen the dissipation of the members in both houses; or reduce the enormous expence that luxury demands? can the estates be again divided into small farms; the commons restored to the poor; the number of horses diminished; or one instance of selfish profusion be abolished by royal or ministerial power? is it just then, to impute the continuance of the high prices of all things to our sovereign, and his servants, who cannot oppose such oppressive practices?

In every instance of private virtue, as Son, Husband, Father, Brother and Master, he stands unequalled among the race of kings; and a living example to private men. His marriage was, the highest act of prudence, respecting his country. Her majesty, descended from a race of sovereigns, as ancient as any in Europe, and

unallied so nearly with any potentate, of dominions so extensive, as that their quarrels may embroil this kingdom in hostilities, on their account, is fraught with every virtue that can adorn a woman, to whom the tongue of patriotic defamation has not dared to impute an error.

His time is passed in council with his ministers ; in reading ; in the encouragement of science ; the protection of the imitative and mechanic arts ; and, perhaps, by way of avocation, sometimes in the actual exercise of them. The embellishment of his gardens give to the labourer bread, to his people pleasure ; and were the virtues of this royal pair transfused through their subjects, they would render this nation the glory of humankind. They are less superior to their people by the exaltation of a throne than by that of virtue.

Through his reign, to this hour, no symptom of a sanguinary disposition, no act of cruelty has been visible. His mercy is so distinguished, that the remorseless crew of present patriots charge it on him as a crime.

1. William the second prince of Orange, father of king William, having imprisoned six of the provincial states, in the castle of Lovestein, marched the army of the United provinces, in the dark, insidiously to seize the city of Amsterdam, and to enslave his country. This horrible design was prevented by the sole accident of the Hambrough post-boy passing through the army in the night, to Amsterdam, and alarming the citizens. This saved the place, and preserved their liberty. William the third was born after his father's death. The late escape from despotism induced the states to enter on the resolution of eternally suppressing the office of stadtholder. During the youth of
William

William the third, the sole instructions, which he received, were imparted by John de Wit, the pensionary of Holland, a virtuous man, and a sincere friend to the republic and his country. By his interest, the prince of Orange was made admiral and captain-general of the troops of the United Provinces. He willingly received these high offices, under the most solemn oath, of never accepting the stadtholdership, although it should be offered him by the states.

Notwithstanding these obligations to that great man De Wit, who was of the Arminian faith, the prince excited the calvinistical preachers, who are ever ready for the execution of mischief, to inflame the populace against him: till, at length, they so far succeeded, as to incense the rabble to murder both John de Wit and his brother. Having thus prospered in blood and ingratitude, the prince of Orange, assisted by his calvinistical teachers, absolved himself from his oath, and assumed that stadtholdership which he had so solemnly sworn never to accept.

When the French, under the command of Luxemburg, invaded the Dutch dominions on the ice, and "which, as Burnet says, would have had a very tragical conclusion, if a happy turn of weather had not saved them." Painvine was entrusted with the command of a small fort, on a causeway, through which the French must have passed, had not the ice afforded the means of proceeding without staying to take it. Painvine, foreseeing what would be the case, that his defence would be useless, and being solicited to preserve another town from the enemy, retired to Tergow, to reinforce that place with the troops and cannon. The fort also was allowed to be un-

tenable. For this behaviour he was tried by a court-martial. He pleaded, that he left that place on the request of one of the towns, in order to preserve it from the enemy. He was, nevertheless, found guilty of cowardice, sentenced to have his sword broken over his head, and to be banished the dominions of the states. The prince, not satisfied with this sentence, he was again tried by a court, composed of general officers, and they confirmed the former sentence. So far the laws of the United Provinces allowed. The prince of Orange, whose relentless soul was not to be satisfied with less than human blood, in violation of the law and justice, had him once more brought to trial before himself, and a court of supreme officers. He was then found guilty, condemned and executed. By this implacable pursuit, was not William the third, prince of Orange at once the judge and the predetermined murderer? his favourite doctrine of predestination effacing every humane sensation, and sanctifying every act of cruelty. Patriots be for ever silent, respecting Jefferies, that inhuman judge, or determine of all men according to their deserts.

From the day of his being Stadtholder, to that of his accession to the throne of these realms, he was totally engaged in subduing the Lovestein party, and in endeavours to become absolute in Holland. Lewis the fourteenth opposed him in all his measures, not through affection, but thro' interest to preserve the United Provinces in their present form of government. On this account, the king of France was first detested by the prince of Orange. This detestation augmented with every defeat he received from that king, which were equal to the number of battles in which he was engaged.

gaged. And there can hardly exist a more ridiculous story, trumped up to create his consequence, among the English after an unsuccessful campaign, than that Lewis the fourteenth had sent assassins into the camp, to put him to death ; when it was his life alone, that was so precious to the French : since, by a long and uniform experience, they had been taught the insufficiency of his generalship, and the certainty of their success, whilst he commanded. The reverse of this they were soon taught, by the superior abilities of the duke of Marlborough, to create whose importance no fictitious assassinations were requisite to be invented.

During this time also, the regicides of his grandfather, those who plotted to destroy his uncle, and every enemy to England, found asylum and protection in Holland. He engaged with Oates in that fictitious plot, for murdering the king, on which so many innocent catholics were put to death, in order to excite the populace against his father, and to exclude him from the throne. He coincided with Russel, Sydney, Ferguson, and others, in the Ryehouse plot, to assassinate the king. The two first had their attainders taken off, after his coming to the throne of England. Shaftesbury, Ferguson, Burnet and others, found refuge near him ; and Ferguson, the presbyterian teacher, and Burnet, the presbyterian prelate, returned with him, when he landed in England.

James the second, by suspending and dispensing with the laws ; by endeavouring to obtain an abolition of the Test-act, and to admit papists, presbyterians, and other sectaries, into all offices, civil and military ; by his attempts to introduce papists into power in the universities of Oxford and

and Cambridge; by his bigotry, and designs to subvert the established church, and to encrease arbitrary power, deserved to lose his crown. And he was expelled the kingdom justly. The revolution was, therefore, a blessing to the nation. And king William ascended the throne of his consort's father, and his own uncle.

That King, in his private life, did never manifest the least love for science, literature, or arts. His pleasures were all *unnatural*. He delighted in blood, whether in war or peace. Slaughtering inoffensive animals, by shooting, was his chief delight in the latter; in the former, that of his fellow creatures. He was never elevated but in a day of battle; and, excepting one, he left all of them with disappointment and disgrace. He loved not the English; and in peace or war annually passed the seas to spend his time and English money in the swamps of Holland.

The pious queen Mary entered her father's palace, insensible to his fate: and shewed no kind of compunction on the remembrance of him, who had once inhabited it. One pious tear might have dropped and have been pardoned. Nor was she ever reconciled to her sister. From hence, may it not be reasonably inferred, that tenderness of heart was not the characteristic of that *good* queen, who manifested no affection in those instances, where nature is most prompt to exert it. Filial affection and that of a sister were aliens to her breast.

Such are the public and the private virtues of their present majesties, and of king William and queen Mary. Those of the former princes are proved by the living testimony of their daily actions, whilst all history evinces the facts which are related
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of the latter. Mr. Lee may now continue in his former opinion respecting William and Mary. The most formidable Tommy Townshend may unite with the learned counsellor, roar allegiance to dead princes, with a view to countenance their silence, respecting the living, and exert their oratoric powers against me, as often as they please. I desire no other punishment, on these gentlemen, than that they may be obliged to *print* their *speeches*.

It is a tale that has been assiduously propagated by the sectaries, that popery has, at all times, been attended with slavery in this kingdom; and that the presbyterians, and other revolvers from the church of England, are, and ever have been, the fast friends of freedom, and the constitution. That the Roman Catholics are constant persecutors of those who, for conscience sake, dissent from their opinions; and that the latter have been, and are, the advocates for universal toleration and liberty of conscience. I shall presume to examine into the truth of this assertion, from facts alone. And with that view to lay the most material transactions of both before the public, and then leave it to their determination.

In the reign of king John, both the prelates and nobles disclaimed allegiance to him; because he had acknowledged his dependence on the pope, in temporal concerns. Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, was the person who began, conducted, and obtained Magna Charta, in his reign; and had it again confirmed in the subsequent. In the reign of Henry the third, the dignified ecclesiastics disdained to submit to taxes imposed by the papal see, even in contradiction to their sovereign's recommendation. And the bishop of London pronounced, "if the mitre be taken from my head, a helmet shall instantly supply its place." Stratford, archbishop

archbishop of Canterbury, at the head of the clergy, in defence of those parts of Magna Charta, relative to the church, opposed the incroachments of Edward the third. In that reign, also, the parliament enacted, that none should transfer to Rome causes appertaining to the king's court. In the reign of Richard the second, all those who might introduce bulls and mandates from Rome, were deprived of the king's protection, their lands and goods were forfeited, together with imprisonment and ransom at the king's pleasure, and outlawed if not to be found. This law of *præmunire* was strengthened by Henry the fourth. The parliament, in the reign of Henry the eighth, abolished the papal supremacy and jurisdiction. All these exertions, and establishments, were accomplished by Roman Catholics. So far they were the friends of civil and religious liberty, and the steady supporters of the constitution.

With relation to such motives and effects, history does not authorise me to deliver any thing on the part of the presbyterians, and other dissenters from the established church. I shall, therefore, proceed to shew what mischiefs have been attempted and accomplished by the Roman Catholics, and then bring parallels from the deeds of the sectaries.

When Henry the eighth and the parliament had abolished the papal, and established the royal supremacy, as the Roman Catholic religion still remained, but few and impotent insurrections were the consequence of that alteration; and these were easily subdued. Nothing material was excited in opposition to the farther reformation that was made by Edward the sixth. In his reign, the ancient laws against heretics were abrogated with great judgement; but others, scarcely less sanguinary
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against catholics, were enacted in their place. On the ascent of Mary to the throne, the preceding laws of Edward were annulled; the Roman Catholic religion, together with the papal supremacy, were restored; and the laws against heretics most injudiciously revived. Thousands, whom curiosity or aversion from protestantism, had brought to the inhuman spectacle, of christians expiring in the flames, seeing the fortitude with which they died, and admiring their constancy in suffering, were enthusiastically seized with persuasion, that the cause for which they expired must contain both truth and salvation. Those, therefore, who came catholics, returned from these inhuman executions, converted to the protestant church. That punishment, therefore, which advances the very end which it was instituted to destroy, is certainly the most injudicious act of mistaken polity. During this reign, about two hundred of the church of England expired in the flames, the martyrs of their faith.

Queen Elizabeth, being seated on the throne, the nation again returned to the church, as reformed by Edward the sixth. But such is the consequence of reformation in religion, one constantly begets another, as if religion were intended for nothing else but to be mended, and greater evils may, by progression, arise from that cause, than have been remedied by it in the beginning. For such is the invariable disposition of zealots, and of designing men, that the former never judging what the qualities of the human mind, the circumstances of the times, the preservation of religion and sound polity require, imagine nothing to be compleat in reformation, whilst any thing remains of the old establishment; at the same time the latter

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seizing the lust of innovation, and of disobedience to all power in the populace, artfully conducting it, in their criminal pursuits, under the deceptive disguise of superior holiness, to those ends which ambition, interested designs, or mere malignity of heart incite them.

In consequence of these two causes, dissensions from the church of England sprang as naturally in this reign, as from the church of Rome, in the antecedent. The same arguments were used by the latter, as by the former, in defence of their dissensions. The right of serving God in their own way, and to be indulged in their tenderness of conscience, had still the same weight and energy; and as no intention of eminent mischief can be carried into effect, by the most refined in cunning, but by force or seduction, whenever such designs are in agitation, and power is deficient, the latter becomes the substitute, commences and conducts the undertaking, by offering such propositions as bear the face of right to all but the discerning, who, in such cases, are always few in number: and, like Cassandra, are not believed in their predictions.

The reformers, in the reign of Edward the sixth, had renounced the Roman Catholic faith, and most piously consigned their ancestors to the devil, for being idolaters. The puritans, for such they were first called, paid the like compliment to the living; denominated all that remained of rites, ceremonies, and worship of the ancient religion in the reformed church to be idolatry; and, with like piety, sentenced these professors of the new faith to the infernal regions also. In this manner reformation as spontaneously grew out of reformation, as one polype from another, and as regularly became new existencies. The tenets, on which
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they differed and contended, were all founded in truth, and warranted by scripture. The gospel was explained by every man, according as it best might serve his purpose; a multiplicity of senses were found to be in the same text, and every one was a perfect judge of the truth and rectitude of what he read. By these means, every individual was right in his own opinion; and every man wrong, that differed from him: and thus being all right, as they considered themselves, and all others wrong, as they were considered by them; all were right, and all wrong, at the same time. The principles, which were adopted by these puritans, were not examined by the criterion of human judgement, in order to determine, whether they would tend to the improvement of true religion, morality and virtue; but by that which every crafty and insidious knave could twist the scriptures to express, and to serve the purposes of most effectually seducing the populace.

The doctrines of Calvin, mixed with fanaticism, are irresistible. Zeal is the sharpened wedge, and predestination that tremendous weight which drives through all opposition. These were adopted by the puritans, and applied progressively to all the purposes of national destruction. Leicester, Walsingham, Cecil, and others, were puritans at heart, and patrons of them openly. These principles were countenanced as best adapted to support their designs on the church lands, which were left unpillaged by Henry the eighth, of which Leicester and others obtained considerable portions. These men ruled Elizabeth. Laws were enacted, which made it high treason, for a subject, born in England, to return a priest from beyond the seas to his native country. It was made treason, either to

convert another, or to be converted by him. It was felony, also, to entertain, secrete, or any ways assist a Roman Catholic priest.

By these sanguinary statutes, as many priests, of the Roman Catholic faith, have been drawn, hanged, cut up alive; their hearts torn from their bodies, whilst palpitating in the executioner's hand, and thrown into the flames; their members severed, and exposed on the public places, in which they suffered, as there were protestants that perished in the flames of Mary. These victims had committed no other crime than that of being priests, and preaching their doctrines, like Augustin, who first promulged the same christian faith, and established that religion, for which they died, among our ancestors. Not a man of them, when asked, but would have willingly complied with taking any oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, in all temporal affairs. Not a man would take it in ecclesiastical, on the terms of life, sincerely offered, when racks, in prison, stretched him agonising in torture, nor when the instruments of execution and lighted fires were present to his eyes. One of these victims, whose name was Tunstal, when the long detail of drawing, hanging, cutting down alive, ripping open, burning and dismembering, was pronounced, heard it with that resolution which a perfect consciousness of being right can alone inspire; and instantly replied, *well, my good lord, this whole dreadful sentence imports but one death.* Words which express a sublimity of sentiment, and superiority of soul, that nothing has exceeded, or can exceed. Many, also, who entertained them, perished by the hands of the public hangman. For these puritanical statesmen had, by law, converted every laudable sensation of the heart, and act of humanity,

humanity, in parents, brothers, sisters, relations, friends, into felony and death.

Such was the ministerial infliction: but by presbyterian principles men are not made martyrs, but persecutors. Religion is their instrument of mischief, not their guide to salvation. Their faith, respecting the obligations of an oath, is taken from two lines in Hudibras:

'Tis he, that breaks the oath, who makes it,
Not he, who for convenience takes it.

It is uniformly seen, that hang but self-interest, or even the paultry honour of a mayoralty or sheriffship before their eyes, or put their property in danger, their consciences are distended with the utmost facility; and no oath is too large to be taken down; of such singular stuff are they composed, they dilate like a viper swallowing a toad. And when none of the preceding objects are offered, the smallest grain is too large to find admittance into such tender consciences.

Such was the parliamentary infliction of a puritanical ministry against the Roman catholics, whose plea of persevering in that religion, which had subsisted so many ages, and was first promulged among the English; was, on that account, more strong than that for innovating and disturbing the church so lately established, and which, at length, subverted the constitution both civil and religious. In this manner, puritanical cruelty was exercised through the reign of that queen. At length, she saw to what excess that fanatic and insidious race were extending their designs. She felt the ill effects of their principles, and enacted laws to suppress them also. But these,
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in like manner, were injudiciously formed. The evil was thereby augmented, and she then too late, foresaw the sanguinary calamities which they would one day inflict on this deluded nation.

When James the first acceded to the crown of England, he brought from Scotland a thorough detestation of the presbyterians, from whose machinations he had almost miraculously escaped. His opinion of them is best known from his own words, in his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, written to his son; "Take heed, therefore, my son, to such puritans, very pests in the church and commonwealth; whom, no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies. Aspiring without measure; reviling without reason; and making their own imaginations, without any warrant of the word, the square of their consciences, I protest, before the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no time for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any highland or border thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits. And suffer not the principles of them to brook your land, if ye like to sit at rest." Such they were, in those days; such they are at present. The fatal effects which they produced in the reign of Charles the first, loudly pronounced, that no vigilance nor exertion of legal power, either by laws, already, or to be, made, can exceed the emergency of the present dispositions of these men, who profess themselves to be of similar principles, and are engaged in like pursuits.

James, who abhorred the presbyterians, was not disinclined to the Roman Catholics. Cecil, his minister, a presbyterian at his soul, beheld this propensity

propensity with pain; and wished to estrange his sovereign's heart from those he liked. At this time, the most nefarious design of blowing up, by means of gun-powder, king, lords and commons, was undertaken by about fourteen of the papists. The intention was discovered by such means, and prevented in such a manner, that it is not without probability that the presbyterian, Cecil, had contrived this execrable undertaking, by secretly practising on a few fiery bigots of the papal church; in order, by those means, to avert the inclinations of James from his Roman catholic subjects. Among these, Garnet, the Jesuit, suffered death. His crime was, not revealing this design, which had been imparted to him in confession. I pretend to no excuse for this Jesuit's conduct. But certainly being, by his religious office, under the most solemn obligation not to reveal what was confessed to him, he had a better plea than Burnet, whom I constantly consider as a presbyterian priest. He, good man, left England, to seek an asylum in Holland; because he certainly knew what was intended, and feared that the undertaking then on foot was premature: for he says, "He thought the best thing for him to do was to go out of the way beyond sea. This gave him great credit with all the malcontents, and he made the best use of it he could." After this avowal, he that will not conclude that Burnet, by disregarding his oath of allegiance and not revealing what he knew, who had no excuse, from vows or oaths to the contrary, and by encouraging those he did, was not as great a villain, and merited death as much as Garnet, must find more coercive arguments than I have hitherto discovered.

The contrivers of this execrable intention received that punishment which was justly due to them. But by the most diligent search it was found that no other Roman catholic was concerned in that plot; no arms were collected, nor military preparations made; so that no consequence, in favour of papists, could have been derived from that horrible intention. It is difficult, therefore, to decide whether the folly or the iniquity be most enormous in that sanguinary pursuit. For, had the event taken place, would it not have proved more fatal to the Roman catholics than to the rest of the kingdom? for who can doubt that in the first impulses of vindictive rage, they had perished by the hands of the protestants? This plot, the council of Cecil, and the presbyterian interest in Scotland prevailed on James to persecute and put to death numbers of Roman catholic priests, whose whole crime was solely that of being of the priesthood, and preaching their doctrines for conscience sake, the very thing these presbyterians claimed as the original rights of humankind.

Notwithstanding James the first was animated with such abhorrence of the presbyterians, his pedantic and disputatious spirit, and his affectation of being a profound Theologist, facilitated the means that brought his son to the block. In fact, he adopted the most egregious error that a sovereign can commit, respecting such dissensions as may arise from a church established. He suffered the clergy to enter into conferences and disputes with the presbyterian teachers. Whereas he should have known that in such assemblies neither truth nor reason have power to subdue enthusiasm and change the opinions of the controvertists. Motives of a contrary nature and too powerful to
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be overcome by argument, animate their hearts and disputations. They are kindled into greater resentment against each other, and from that impulse separate with more aversion; and therefore, are less open to conviction than when they met. No converts are made by such disputes. At the same time, by indulging the presbyterians with those conferences, the king imparted a consequence to their cause; and afforded reason to suggest, that it contained something which deserved a refutation. All such proceedings are destructive of the end to which they are intended, and unwarrantable by manly and sound polity.

James being dead, his son Charles legally assumed the sceptre of the three kingdoms. During the two preceding reigns, the puritans had increased in number, and in riches. These circumstances augmented their power, and inflamed their insolence. They were now no longer the humble suitors, for conscience sake, to be permitted to worship God in their own way. They entered on the resolution and the means of demolishing every object which might resist their designs, whether it were ecclesiastical or civil. The king, and the house of lords, religion and the laws, were alike to be abolished. They were conscious, however, that their machinations must prove abortive, unless some specious plan were devised to create a discontent between the sovereign and his subjects. Without that aid, on what pretext could they commence those mischiefs which they had projected. But in search of that assistance, they were not long employed. In the last year of the reign of James, they had urged him to a war with Spain and the emperor; they then gave him a supply; and a petition against popery was presented to the throne.

James being dead, and the nation thus involved in hostilities, a parliament was called, in which the presbyterian members exceeded in number those of the established church. They soon discovered their strength. On this their designs broke violently forth, and they immediately began to carry their seditious intentions into action. With this view they resolved not to settle the revenues of tonnage and poundage on the king, beyond a year; and refused to grant such supplies as were adequate to the supporting of that war which they had, in fact, begun. In this dilemma, to which they had reduced their sovereign, they poured complaints of grievances, and made no provision for the civil list, nor for sustaining the war. The king perceiving their designs, and that nothing but seditious purposes were intended, dissolved the parliament; and, by his sole authority, ordered his officers to continue in collecting the duties which had been usually settled on his predecessors. Another parliament was called, in the following year, and this, proceeding in a like manner, it was dissolved, as the former had been, and for like reasons. A third parliament was again called, and filled with the same men, or others of similar principles. They greedily seized on the king's raising money by his own authority, as illegal and arbitrary, although by their premeditated refusal of supplies, he had been compelled to it; and that it was not unprecedented. On this event, they formed a petition to the king, which contained such articles as were reasonably to be asked, and which could not be refused without displeasing the people. These were, that no loan or tax might be levied without consent of parliament; that no man might be imprisoned but by legal process; and a few

few others. To these the king answered, "I will, that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm." But this was received as inadequate to what they expected. They again petitioned for a more satisfactory answer. His majesty then gave his full assent, according to the usual form in parliament: but their system was, never to be satisfied with any return to what they asked, and consequently they resolved on presenting a remonstrance against the king's having received tonnage and poundage. This design being known, his majesty came to the house, passed the acts, which confirmed the rights and liberties, for which they petitioned, together with some others; and then prorogued the parliament.

It assembled again in the same year. The commons immediately began on the late subject, of the illegality of tonnage and poundage. The king informed them, in his speech, that he did not claim it of right, but *de bene esse*; or, for the public welfare; and desired it might be settled on him, as it had been on his ancestors. No attention was paid to this request. They not only continued the complaints on the grievances of administration, but now no longer talked of liberty of conscience, to serve God in their own way; but erected themselves into an inquisition; enquired into, and condemned that liberty in others, who were equally entitled to it with themselves; and debated concerning the increase of Arminianism and popery. Pym, also, moved in the house, that they should engage in a covenant to maintain their rights and religion. They then resolved to proceed on affairs relative to religion, before they entered on the consideration of the tonnage and poundage. And Cromwel

informed the house, that popery was countenanced by the bishop of Winchester.

The speaker of the commons, being called upon by the house, to read a remonstrance, he refused to comply with it; when endeavouring to leave the chair, he was held in it by force, the doors were locked, and the subsequent protestation was read: "That whoever should bring in innovations in religion, or seek to introduce popery or Arminianism, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom." It seems difficult to decide, whether the effrontery of this protestation be greater, in their interdicting innovations in religion, who were then labouring to innovate, by establishing calvinism in the place of the church of England; or in denying that liberty of conscience to others, which they themselves asserted was the right of all mankind. On this, the king dissolved the parliament.

The spirit of intolerance increased amongst those presbyterians, exactly with their powers of carrying it into execution. Every thing was popery that remained, either in form of worship or of prayer. The mitre, the surplice, a burning taper, a piece of painted glass, were deadly sins and remnants of idolatry. All were to be abolished as odious to God, in order to effect a godly thorough reformation. At the same time, they converted the very essence of christianity to the most infernal purposes. They presumed to seek the lord in prayer, to grant them such things as no being but the devil could hear, without horror. They rose from their knees, asserting it was obtained. They applied the wrathful texts of the Jewish theocracy, pronounced against idolaters, to the church established, and converted Christ himself to become an instrument

strument of their impious designs, by calling him their king Jesus. All this they asserted to be undertaken in support of that gospel, which teaches charity to all mankind, and even forgiveness to our enemies. No falsehood was too flagrant for their affirmation; no deed too cruel for their undertaking, provided the tendency of them were to promote their abominable purposes. Two things there were, besides the levying of tonnage and poundage, that afforded too much cause for their seeking the abolition of them. These were the courts of high commission, and Star-chamber.

During this time, the Scotch presbyterians were equally engaged in like rebellious transactions. They entered into a solemn league and covenant against the episcopal church, established in Scotland, and to erect calvinism. In 1640, the parliament met, and immediately returned to their late grievances in religious and temporal affairs. It is again dissolved; but the suppression of the Scottish rebellion requiring supplies, which could not be raised without a parliament, another was called in the same year. On the 3d of November, began the session of that parliament, which, before its dissolution, entirely subverted the constitution, in church and state; and exercised such unremitting tyranny, and acts of barbarism, as were even a disgrace to rebellion. All this was done for conscience sake, for the liberty of worshipping God in their own way, and for establishing the throne of king Jesus.

The same grievances were again urged by the commons. Pym carried up an impeachment against the earl of Strafford. He is committed to the custody of the black rod. Pennington, a presbyterian alderman of the city of London, followed
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by a tumultuous populace, carried a petition, as from the city, against the discipline and ceremonies of the church; and soon after, with a like riotous attendance, he presents another for the abolition of episcopacy. The commons then resolved that the convocation had no right to make canons; that the subsidies which they granted were illegal; and framed a bill for fining all that sat in that assembly. And yet, all these rights existed in the clergy, long before the house of commons had a being, and had uniformly continued to make a part of the constitution of England to that day. Never were impudence, falsehood, and hypocrisy, so perfectly combined as in the fanatic commons of those days. Archbishop Laud was now impeached of high treason, by Danzel Hollis, taken into the custody of the black rod, and, soon after committed to the tower. And in this manner, the earl of Strafford, and this prelate, the chief supporters of the church and state, and of greatest abilities and resolution, were taken from the king, and imprisoned.

A bill for triennial parliaments was, at that time, the subject of great clamour by the presbyterians, as it is at present. That bill then meant only that the king should not discontinue a meeting of parliament more than three years. This act was passed. The commons, with thanks to his majesty, declared, that nothing now remained, but to testify their devotion to him, and to make him a glorious king. We shall soon see of what stuff their devotion was composed, and the means they pursued to make their sovereign glorious.

One act of their devotion was to resolve, that no bishop should have a vote in parliament. Another was to keep the Scotch army in pay; and to borrow money

money of the city of London on the subsidies, which was an act equally arbitrary and illegal with that of the king's levying tonnage and poundage by his own authority. There was now an undoubted rebellion in the kingdom: in fact, it had already long subsisted. But the king fatally deferred to arm, and to defeat it. The articles of impeachment against lord Strafford were unequal to the accusation, for if all of them could have been proved, they could amount to nothing like high treason. They therefore despised the regular proceedings of justice, proceeded by bill of attainder, and framed a law expressly made to put him to death, guiltless of the charge; which, on that account, was as equally a murder, as if the same presbyterians had assassinated him in the street.

Notwithstanding this parliamentary outrage on the constitution, these fanatics, "whom no king can govern, and no God can please," headed by one Cornelius Burges, followed by a mob, came riotously to the house of commons, exclaiming, *justice, justice*, against the earl of Strafford. For murder was *justice*, in the opinion of a presbyterian teacher, at that time, as it appears to be in that of Priestley in the present. They insulted the king, and when the justices of the peace attempted to commit the most audacious of them to prison, the commons interposed, and committed the justices, for acting in defence of their sovereign and the laws, against his rebellious subjects. In this way, they proved themselves to be at his *devotion*, and making him a glorious king.

The day was now arrived, fraught with ruin to the constitution. The king, oh fatal and imprudent deed! signed the paper that appointed the commission, by which the bill of lord Strafford's
attainder

attainder was passed in the house of lords, and another, that the parliament should not be dissolved without the consent of the commons. Such was the issue of obtaining a triennial parliament. By these acts, he, in fact, subscribed his own death warrant; and the hand that signed these papers, I had almost said, deserved to have that head, which belonged to it, taken from its shoulders by an axe.

And now it was visible, that those presbyterian commons, those friends of the people, these protectors of their rights and liberties, had not only prevailed on the king to renounce his lawful right of proroguing and dissolving parliament; but that they had robbed their fellow-subjects also of their right of a general election, and of being represented by any other than that which was then sitting. For this parliament never dissolved itself, until the restoration of Charles the second. May this precedent, so fatal, so sanguinary, and destructive, prevent both the sovereign to yield to any application from sectarian subjects, and the people from abetting their machinations. For it is as certain, that the king shall suffer, by indulging their petitions, and the people be deprived of their rights and liberties, by men of such principles, as that the sun shall rise to-morrow. And believe me, although at the day of judgment they suffer for their transgressions, yet, neither wisdom, nor christian patience ought to remit to that day of doom the punishment which they so truly merit.

The king then passed a bill, by which he renounced all right of levying tonnage and poundage, by his prerogative, or on any merchandise whatsoever; another to annihilate the courts of high commission, and of the Star-chamber; and one also of pacification between England and Scotland, by
which

which the demands of all the presbyterian Scots were granted. Here every pursuit of the house of commons ought to have terminated. The levying of money, by prerogative-royal, the courts of high commission, and Star-chamber, were abolished ; and liberty of conscience was no longer opposed. But these envenomed sectaries resolved to proceed until the whole constitution of the state were perfectly demolished. Every concession of the king was a fresh incentive for proceeding to new demands. And in this manner it will eternally result, when sovereigns yield to the petitions of men who are, by principle, implacable, but with the death of that man who shall give credit to their hypocritical applications, and yield his assent to their insidious undertakings.

Every moment expedited the ruin of the king, in which no man was more instrumental than himself. He consented to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland. He dismissed colonel Lunsford from the lieutenancy of the tower, on the application of the *commons*, that *they* could not confide in him ; and sir John Byron was placed in his stead. Twelve of the bishops protested against all acts passed in parliament since they were withheld from sitting in the house of lords. They were committed by the parliament to the tower, as guilty of high treason.

The treasonable correspondence being discovered, between the presbyterian commons and the Scots, the king ordered Kimbleton, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haslerig and Stroud to be apprehended. The commons resolved to stand on their defence. The king demanded the members above-named in their house. They were absent. The commons voted that demand to be a breach of privilege, and the city mob was raised to protect them.

At this time, his majesty and the royal family being exposed to great danger, retired to Hampton-Court. The presbyterian sheriffs of London, accompanied with the train-bands, and the populace, in arms, carried back the demanded members in triumph to Westminster; whilst the seamen and watermen, in boats, equipped with field-pieces, proceeded, from London-Bridge to the same place. They were thanked by the commons and promised an ordinance for their indemnity.

Nothing is so fatal to a sovereign as temporizing with rebels. It was now discerned how erroneously the king had conducted himself, in suffering these presbyterian subjects of King Jesus to proceed in violating the constitution, assisted by his own assent. Whilst they were openly disregarding all legal obligation, and preparing to destroy him by arms, his majesty imprudently conceiving that such implacable demanders were to be satisfied by granting what they asked, neglected such military preparations as could alone, in those days, and can, in the present, prevent the destructive purposes on which they always meditate; and which they will omit no probable opportunity of carrying into execution.

Sir John Byron, not answering the intention of the commons, they petitioned the king to deliver up to them the tower; and to place the fortresses and militia of the kingdom in their hands. Byron was dismissed and Sir John Conyers made lieutenant of the Tower. Thus his majesty consented to disarm himself.

Charles, by commission, passed the bill that deprived the bishops of their right of voting in parliament; and incapacitated the clergy from exercising any jurisdiction in temporal concerns.

The king, refusing to put the militia into the hands of the commons, they immediately assumed that power. They demanded the dismissal of his ministers, as evil counsellors, and even to have the prince in their custody. They resolved to put the nation in a state of defence, that the lords lieutenant should bring to the house their commissions, and cancel them as illegal. And that the admiral should prepare a fleet, and proceed to sea in their service. The king sat up his standard, and prepared for defeating those rebels, by the power of arms, which he had too long and too fatally neglected, whilst they were hastening to that means of destroying him.

During the preceding part of this reign, but three Roman catholic persons had suffered death, for being of that priesthood. The prisons were, indeed, thronged with persons of that religion, both ecclesiastics and laymen; but, with the increase of power among the presbyterian commons, the spirit of persecution proceeded with equal steps. The catholic priests were now to be brought to the gallows, for exercising their right of serving God in their own way. Goodman, a priest, was condemned to die. The king, in *mercy*, applied to the commons to save his life, and be satisfied with his being imprisoned or banished. The lords and commons conferred and joined in a petition to the king, that Goodman be executed, and the laws put in execution against all priests, and jesuits. Blood alone can satisfy the tender conscience of a presbyterian. His majesty, however, did not consent to Goodman's death. He died in Newgate, among felons. The king resolved to commit no more such cruelties; and refused to sign the warrants of seven priests, condemned at one time to death, at

the Old-Bailey. The presbyterians then, seeing it in vain to seek the sanction of the royal name to countenance their persecuting resolves, assumed the full power of life and death; and a number of men, whose whole crimes were being priests, were executed with all the severity of that inhuman sentence, which condemns to be hanged, cut down alive, emboweled, and hearts to be thrown into the flames. Such was the tenderness of the presbyterian commons, who were at that instant roaring against the Roman catholic persecutions in the reign of bloody Mary. This *mercy*, constantly unpardonable in a king, that is not their favourer, was published through the realm, as a proof of his majesty's being a bloody papist, and of their being the true friends of Christ's gospel. Their persecuting spirit, for conscience sake, was so exercised in 1641, that they executed two priests, and sentenced several others to death. This had a double effect. It withheld the merciful disposition of the king from urging the Roman catholics to join his standard, through apprehension, that all of that religion would thereby suffer, who might fall into the hands of the rebels. And the catholics were so intimidated by these sanguinary proceedings of the presbyterians, that, seeing there remained no other method to preserve themselves and their effects, some few of them opposed the king, whom they liked, and assisted the presbyterians, whom they had reason to detest. In the religion of such catholics, rebellion effaced the sin of idolatry. For, in fact, it was loyalty to their sovereign, that was the sole cause of all the fanatic lies, groundless charges, and barbarous punishments, which were urged against all men of the church of England, and Roman catholics.

catholics. And to promote that malignancy, the cause of Jesus was set up against their lawful king.

The parliament now voted, that whoever should raise forces for their sovereign, were to be deemed traitors. And they published a remonstrance, declaring, that the supreme legislative authority was in the two houses: and that the king had no right of withholding his assent from the acts they passed. They now committed the very crime, from which their rebellion had originated, and issued an ordinance, by their sole authority, for levying tonnage and poundage. They passed another ordinance also for assessing, through the kingdom, a weekly tax of 34,808*l.* for the maintenance of their forces against their sovereign: which, they impudently asserted to have been raised for his preservation.

The prisoners, taken at Brentford, being released by the king, on having sworn not to take arms any more against him, Downing and Marshall, two presbyterian teachers, who had been constantly roaring against the pope, as the idolatrous whore of Babylon, assumed that very power which they had so vehemently execrated; and absolved all those released prisoners from their oaths, who, again, engaged in the rebel army, through pure tenderness of conscience.

The church of England was now demolished. An assembly of presbyterian teachers was constituted to settle the national religion, on the calvinistical principles, doctrines and discipline; and the two houses, and the city of London, united with the Scots, in taking the solemn league and covenant.

The presbyterian, being now the established church, by ordinances of rebellion, their teachers laboured to erect a government therein, which was

to contain the very powers, they had abolished, as too despotic. Such as, those of the keys, and of excommunication. Episcopacy was exterminated; the church lands were alienated, to pay the debts incurred by the two houses; and the benefices distributed to their teachers, from whence the clergy of the church of England were expelled. And now, these presbyterian teachers denied that liberty of conscience to all other sects, as well as to the churchmen of England, and they claimed both civil and ecclesiastical authority over mens persons, properties, and consciences. The spirit of persecution thirsted for this power, in order to suppress all who differed in opinion from themselves. They insisted on a strict uniformity in discipline, faith and worship; and vehemently inveighed against toleration, which the independents, their natural spawn, determined to support. They even harassed the house of commons to grant them such powers as might enable them to compel, by persecution, those who should presume to dissent from covenant uniformity, and the divine right of presbytery. This the independents, in parliament, did in some measure prevent from being strictly established. The directory was enjoined, as the rule of worship, in all churches, under a pecuniary fine, for each Sunday's omission. Whoever should presume to speak or act against it was fined from five to fifty pounds. The Common-Prayer was forbidden, not only in churches, but in private families, under a like penalty. Every clergyman of the church of England must take the covenant, or be stripped of his living, and sent, with his family, to starve: and then an ordinance of the two houses, unprecedented among christians, was made the 2d of May 1648, against heresy and blasphemy. Among a variety of
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of articles, these that follow are to be seen. That whoever shall affirm, that the Godhead and manhood of Christ are not distinct natures; that the death of Christ is not meritorious; that the scriptures are not the word of God; that Christ is not risen; that there is no resurrection, or a future judgment; shall suffer death, as in cases of felony. And then, that whosoever says, that all men shall be saved; that man, by nature, hath free-will to turn to God; that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend; that the baptism of infants is unlawful; shall be committed to prison, till they can find security, that he would not either maintain or publish such errors. Such was the lust of establishing absolute dominion, by what was then called the legislature. By this ordinance, the churchmen of England, Papists, Arminians, Antinomians, Arians, Socinians, Anabaptists, and all other sectaries, then existing, were doomed to persecution.

The virulence of this presbyterian ordinance destroyed the end for which it was intended. The independents revolted from them, and became their masters. They were universally detested by all men of every other religion, or sect, for their attempting to establish this tyranny on conscience. And this detestation alone induced them to assume the affectation of tenderness for the king's life, when they saw their tyrannical system disappointed by the independents. These were the blessed seekers of the Lord, who transported themselves to Boston, in which place they pursued the dictates of the same persecuting spirit, and put to death those who dared to dissent from them. In such principles they have persevered, and such they are now exercising

ercising against the lawful authority of their sovereign and his parliament.

Pym, nicknamed king, by the mob, perished by the lousy evil. Thus perish all such rebels to their king.

Archbishop Laud, being deemed by the lords to be not guilty of high-treason, the presbyterian commons commanded him before them; and without hearing any evidence, save that which was repeated by their counsel, they attainted him of high treason, for which he was beheaded. And now the courts of high commission and Star-chamber, abolished in name, existed in reality. The first, in the Calvinistical church government; the second in the house of commons: and thus the legislative power, and that of executing the laws, were united in the same inhuman beings.

And now, that abominable hypocrisy, hitherto inserted by order of the parliament, in commissions to their generals, *to preserve his majesty's person*, was omitted in that to Fairfax.

I purposely decline from all description of those calamities which attended this infernal rebellion, in which fathers were slain by sons, and sons by fathers; in which all ties, parental and filial, by consanguinity and marriage, of friend, of religion, and of humanity itself, were totally annihilated. Desolation, rapine and slaughter, were let loose to ravage; and every horrible act that fanaticism could devise, was perpetrated, with all imaginable fury.

At this time, the commons resolve, under God, that the people were the original of all just power. That the commons, in parliament, had the supreme authority of the nation, without king or house of peers. Thus, as the commons were established

tablished to all eternity, unless dissolved by force, or by their own consent, every right in the constituents of electing a new parliament was extirpated, together with those of the king and peerage; and the government was become an oligarchy.

The king, driven to distress, repaired to the Scotch presbyterian army, in search of an asylum. These loyal subjects sold him to his English rebels, for 400,000*l.*

The English presbyterians, in resentment to the independents, for stripping them of power, now affected a tenderness for the king's life. Cromwel, conscious of the true motive, ridiculed their hypocrisy. His majesty was then brought before a self-created high court of justice; he disavowed their authority; was arraigned and sentenced to be beheaded; as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public robber, and then they murdered him, at Whitehall, on the 30th of January, 1648.

Hence it may be seen, by what fatal progression, from the pretence of seeking the liberty of serving God in their own way; from tenderness of conscience; from opposing some few acts of extended prerogative, together with abolishing of the courts of high commission and star-chamber, established by law, and annulled by the king's consent; that virtuous motives never actuated the hypocritic bosoms of those insidious fanatics. Every thing conceded was an incentive to more arrogant demands. By his remissness maturely to prepare, by force to subdue their rebellious intentions, the rights of sovereign and of subject were alike demolished, and the kingdom was covered with human blood, and with oligarchic despotism.

God preserve his majesty; and may the people say, *Amen.*

The commons now resolved, that a king, or the power thereof, in one person, was unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished: and an act was passed in both houses, by which such abolition was confirmed.

Things being thus far advanced, Cromwel entered the house of commons, with a file of musqueteers; commanded the speaker to quit the chair; told them, they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; and that they were no longer a parliament. He told Harry Vare, that he was a juggler; Henry Martin, and Peter Wentworth, that they were whore-mongers; Tom Challoner, a drunkard; and Allen, a public cheat. And ordered a common soldier to take away the mace, that fool's bauble. Harrison then pulled the speaker from the chair: which being done, and all of them kicked out, Cromwel locked the doors, and in the afternoon, dismissed the council of state, which had been appointed soon after the royal murder.

Oliver, with his council of officers, now assumed the supreme authority of the kingdom and dissolved the parliament by their declaration. He then issued his orders, nominated and convened about one hundred and twenty persons, who met him at Whitehall. He then told them, they had a clear call to undertake the supreme authority of the commonwealth. And then, by an instrument, under his own hand, with the advice of his officers, he committed the supreme authority to that 120 men, July the 4th, 1653. They were to sit no longer than till the 3d of November, 1654. And three months before the expiration of their session, they were to select

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an equal number of others to succeed them ; whose duration was not to exceed a year. He then, by way of spiritual compliment, assured them, he had not made choice of one person, in whom he had not the good hope that he had faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all saints. Which saints were those who had spread desolation and bloodshed in the cause of rebellion and murdered their sovereign.

This assembly resolved, that no person should be admitted to any place or office in the government, unless the parliament, as they called themselves, were satisfied of his real goodness. These 120 elect of Cromwel were, in derision, sometimes called the *godly* parliament ; at others, Praisegod Barebone's parliament. That honourable member was a seller of leather, a speaker of speeches ; and no less formidable than the unmerciful Tommy Townshend. It was the opinion of these select men, that Christ would soon descend to reign in England. And, in order to purge the kingdom of iniquity, and prepare the way for him, they proposed to extirpate all parsons and lawyers ; to abrogate all laws, and badges of slavery ; to suppress all schools and universities, as heathenish inventions ; together with all titles of honour and distinctions among men : and they actually proceeded to abolish the courts of chancery. And now, may it not be said, that these fanatics had made a thorough reformation, whatever might become of its godliness ?

This parliament of Praise-God Barebones, consisted of such fools, intentionally selected, to answer Cromwel's purposes. About five months after they began to sit, they had rendered themselves so consummately ridiculous, that Oliver now thought he might safely proceed in his ascendancy to supreme

power. Accordingly, it was moved in the house, that the welfare of the commonwealth required they should sit no longer : and that it was fit they should resign their power to the Lord General. On this motion, the speaker, with many of the members, repaired to Whitehall : and, by a written instrument, resigned their power into the hands of Cromwel. Some of the members still remained with Barebones in the house. Cromwel never did things by halves, or with hesitation. He immediately sent *White*, an officer, with soldiers, to the house of commons, which having entered, they demanded to what intent they were sitting there. *To seek the Lord*, was the answer. Pish, replied *White*, the Lord has not been within these walls these twelve months: and then turned them all out.

Lambert, and the council of officers also, resigned their pretensions to power, and declared, that the government of the commonwealth should reside in a single person ; and that Oliver Cromwel should be that person, with the title of Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and all the other dominions thereunto belonging.

Cromwel was now sole sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, without either lords or commons, to incommode his undertakings. Such was the result of seeking the Lord to murder their king, and of liberty of conscience to subvert the constitution. Oliver was a man formed by nature to apply the principles of those implacable sectaries, to perpetrating the deeds of that sanguinary æra. He lost not his time in speculative designs, which most frequently prove abortive ; but caught occasions as they rose, dared to be equal to what they offered, and probably attained to that amazing degree

gree of sovereignty, because he discerned not to what height he was ascending before he reached the summit. Few men of exalted virtue have, at any time, been capable of great resolution. There have been, indeed, numbers of them possessed of passive fortitude to a surprising excess. Thousands with the utmost firmness, have died martyrs to religion, for one who, by active virtue, has dared to save his country, without being animated by the interested ambition of acquiring dominion for himself. Sovereigns that would imitate Oliver in every thing but his crimes, and add that vigour to deeds of righteousness, which he imparted to those of iniquity, would be the blessing of their people, and the admiration of the world. Subjects expect a firm and active administration in their king. And, although the current of his reign may flow in one continued stream of tranquility and smoothness, even the uniformity of that happiness too frequently displeases. Love of sovereignty is but a feeble passion in their subjects. If they be not taught to fear and feel for their transgression, the popular influence becomes exuberant; tumults, sedition, and even rebellion itself, shall attempt and sometimes succeed in dethroning a virtuous prince, who adds not a vigorous exertion of authority to a proper mode of imparting beneficence.

Oliver, who was now absolute, was, nevertheless, too well instructed in the nature of mankind, and the principles of fanaticism, which, at that time, disgraced the human race, to exert a sovereignty without offering an ostensible object, of uniting others in the supreme legislative power. Attended, therefore, with a strong guard, accompanied with the great officers of state, the lord-mayor



mayor and aldermen of London, he proceeded from Whitehall, to that of Westminster. There he received that writing by which he was authorised to govern the three kingdoms. He then took the oath which was prepared for him; and assumed the chair of state, with putting on his hat. The commissioners then delivered him the broad seal, and the lord-mayor the city sword, which was immediately returned to him.

By this instrument, the supreme legislative power was lodged in the protector and a parliament. The executive in him and his council. A variety of conditions were therein inserted, impairing that regal power, in many instances, of which they had deprived the late king and limiting it in others. All which, however, was so contrived, that he might observe them, or not, as he pleased. For none, but persons of whose integrity he was to determine, were to constitute that parliament. This, in effect, was equal to a nomination of the members. He was obliged to call them together but for six months, once in three years; and, during the interval of their sessions, he and his council were authorised to enact what laws they liked. Such was now the freedom and power of parliament for which so much blood had been spilt.

The office of protector was appointed to be elective and that by the council. All kinds of sects in religion were tolerated. The Roman catholic and church of England were proscribed. He was then proclaimed Protector through all England, with the same solemnity which would have attended the accession of a king. The nation was taxed with raising a revenue, for the maintenance of 10,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and a considerable fleet.

Cromwel

Cromwel and his council, by an ordinance, united England and Scotland in one commonwealth and one government. The parliament meeting, and entering into disputes, relative to their right of assembling, and of the instrument which conveyed the antecedent powers to the Protector, Oliver came to the painted chamber, sent for the members, reprehended them for their insolence, placed a guard at the door of the house of commons, and suffered none to enter who would not subscribe to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector: and that he would neither propose nor consent to alter the government, as it was settled in one person, and a parliament. Three hundred of them subscribed this recognition, in a few days; and Harrison, who refused it, was taken into custody by a party of horse. The house, however, persisted in debating on the preceding subjects; but voted Cromwel Protector for life. When this parliament, not corresponding perfectly with the views of Cromwel, he dissolved them, after a session of five months.

If this act of Oliver be compared with that of Charles, when he went to the house of commons and demanded seven rebellious members, it will appear, that the king required that to be done to which he had not the means of enforcing an obedience; exposed his weakness, and invigorated the opposition of his enemies. Cromwel, prepared with force, dared with firmness, intimidated his opponents, accomplished his design, and secured that sovereignty, which can never be effectually maintained, but by the application of such power, in proportion as the circumstances of things may occasionally require it. He knew that to trust to a war of words, in St. Stephen's chapel, would be to be undone.

undone. He and the council now suppressed the publication of news-papers, without leave of the secretary of state, as well as of all books and pamphlets unlicensed. Thus the liberty of the press was sent to the devil, after all the other liberties which the sectaries had dispatched before it.

Oliver convened a new parliament, from the three kingdoms to meet at Westminster; but he suffered no member to enter the house who had not been approved by his council, and had obtained a certificate of approbation from them. Pack, an *independent* alderman of London, proposed, in the house, to invest Cromwel with the title of *king*; and it was carried by a majority, that the crown should be offered him. But the officers of the army opposing with menaces the accepting of that title, Cromwel, who knew when to persevere, and when to relax, as the power of arms was with or against him, with prudence and hypocrisy, declared, he could not, with a good conscience, accept the government under the title of king. He was not so bigotted as to risque his sovereignty for a name, or to lose three kingdoms for a mass, like James the second. His powers of protector were enlarged. They authorized him to appoint his successor, and fixed his annual revenue at 1,300,000*l*. At this time a new house of peers was created. Cromwel met them and began his speech, my lords, and you the knights, citizens, &c. The commons re-admitted their excluded members, inveighed against the constituting of a house of peers, and disputed the protector's authority to convene them. My lord Hewson, the cobbler, and my lord Pride, the drayman, were peers of this right honourable house. Cromwel, in this house resolved to support those lords he had made, and dissolved the
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parliament. And there ended every proceeding relative to such assemblies, during Oliver's life. The protector died the next year; and it must be an injustice not to confess, that, whilst Oliver alone possessed and exercised the supreme authority, the nation was revered by all the potentates of Europe.

Richard Cromwel was now proclaimed protector; but was soon deposed. The members of the long parliament returned, to the number of forty-one. Those who had been excluded, in 1648, were not admitted. These forty-one published a declaration, that they would act without a protector or house of peers, assumed the style of keepers of the liberties of England, and issued all writs, patents, &c. in their names. This sag-end of the commons, was, in derision, called the rump. The army demanded a general, and share in the government. The parliament dismissed Lambert, Desborough, and others. The soldiers mutinied. Lambert met the speaker going to the house, turned him back, and the rump was again dispersed.

It was the army that now assumed the supreme power, and chose Fleetwood their general. They constituted twenty-three men, of whom the greatest part were general officers; and indued them with the care of government under the name of a committee of safety. The committee of safety now, in their turn, yielded to the rump, which again resumed the government. They appointed a council of state. Monk arrived, the secluded members met him at Whitehall, and voted him general of all the forces of the three kingdoms. The act also was now passed, which dissolved that house of commons, that for 19 years had proved so fatal to the liberties of this nation. A council of state then as-

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sumed

sumed the government of the realm; and Charles the second was restored.

Whoever shall attentively consider the principles of these fanatic rebels, will certainly discern that, in civil and religious tenets, they necessarily lead to the destruction of all the constitutional rights of this kingdom, and the erecting of despotism over our souls and bodies. It is absolutely indisputable, that liberty, both civil and religious, were but mere words, by which the people were constantly misled to the destruction of their own happiness; and that the reality of obtaining those blessings did, not at any time, enter the imaginations of their seductive enslavers, or once appear in their transactions. During this term of nineteen years, oppression and cruelty discriminated all their parliamentary ordinances and actions, under various modes of tyranny. 1st. The two houses, without a king and bishops. 2d. An eternal house of commons, or oligarchy, without the lords. 3d. Cromwel and a council of officers. 4th. A protector and one hundred and twenty men, nominated and convened by his orders. 5th. A protector alone. 6th. A protector, and a house of commons, consisting of members only which he approved. 7th. A protector and a parliament of new-made lords and commons. 8th. Richard Cromwel, protector, with a parliament. 9th. Rump parliament. 10th. Keepers of the liberties of England. 11th. Lambert and the army. 12th. The rump again. 13th. A council of State.

At length, after multiplied oppressions and aggravated cruelties had been relentlessly exercised under this eternal revolution of absurd forms, and anarchical tyranny; after the devastation of the realm, by slaughter, rapine, and fanatic fury, had

so long revelled in full career, no end was seen of their calamities but by returning to that very form of government, which they had destroyed. Charles the second and the constitution were restored together; an event which, although at present it be affectedly treated with neglect, is undoubtedly equal in national advantages to the revolution. Unless the re-establishment of the constitution, which was absolutely subverted, be a less felicity than that event which prevented its demolition.

During the reign of Charles the second, the same presbyterian spirit of persecution, democracy, and king-killing prevailed. Popery and slavery were constantly united in their mouths, which never existed in the realm. Presbyterianism and liberty were, in like manner, conjoined, that never dwelt together. And, under the name of protestants, they insidiously connected themselves with the church of England, against which they as really protested as against the papal. These gave pretext to all their iniquitous intentions. In consequence of this relentless presbyterian spirit, the prince of Orange, lord Shaftesbury, Russel, Sydney, and others, entered into a confederacy with Titus Oates, Bedloe, and such perjurers, to forge a plot, which was, to accuse the Roman catholics of conspiring the death of the king. The fullest disproof of what they swore was of no avail: and a number of innocent men were sacrificed on the infernal altar of presbyterian perfidy, in whose religion regicides alone are saints. This forgery not answering their design, the same persons, with Ferguson, Rumbold, and others, all presbyterians, resolved on the assassination of the king, at the Rye-house, on his return from Newmarket. An event, totally

unforeseen, prevented that intended murder from being carried into execution.

James the second, that injudicious bigot, intending to abrogate the test-act, and alike admit papists, presbyterians, and all others of the sectarian tribes, into all offices, both civil and military, the presbyterians became his fast friends, and avowed abettors of his designs on the constitution. They received this gracious offer with the most profound professions of loyalty to his person, and with the greatest gratitude for his goodness. In their addresses, thanks and praise were accompanied with virulent suggestions of what they had suffered from the church of England. In these they denominated the Roman catholics, their brethren and fellow sufferers for conscience sake. "Lob, whom Burnet calls, an eminent man among the dissenters, was entirely gained to the court, and advised the king to send the bishops to the tower." He was the Father Petre of the fanatics. At the same time, "the popish nobility, and almost all of every degree, pressed the king earnestly to let the thing fall." Sunderland, the new and occasional convert, for one reason; and Petre, the Jesuit, for another, were not among the discreter Catholics. At the same time, the archbishop of Canterbury, with six of his suffragan prelates; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the ecclesiastics of the church of England, and the Tories, by open and honest means, opposed the king's despotic designs; whilst the Whigs, by secret intrigues, invited the prince of Orange into this kingdom.

The revolution was thereby effected. And yet, these sectarian crews are at this day most audaciously assuming a degree of merit, for effectuating that very
revolution

revolution which they opposed. Such is the excess of confidence and falsehood in these men. No sooner had William ascended the throne of his exiled father, than these very presbyterians addressed him in terms of equal loyalty, and rejoiced as much in his elevation, as if they had been the sole means of his rise. The archbishop, and five of the bishops, without whose glorious opposition William had never been crowned king of these realms, were deprived of their sees, and reduced to live on their private and slender incomes; because they dared not to trifle with their consciences, respecting former oaths. At the same time, a part of their ecclesiastical revenues might easily and ought to have been reserved for men of such integrity, by appointing coadjutors, during their lives, to officiate in their dioceses. But William had no affection for the church of England. He was convinced, from the murders of De Wit, in Holland; from their supporting, by perjuries, the forgery of the popish plot; and their actual conspiracy to assassinate king Charles the second; and from what he felt from the same principles in his own bosom, that the presbyterians had no other motives to their actions than self-interest; and that they would support the worst sovereign that ever reigned, when it conduced to their iniquitous advantages, to the ruin of the best, who opposed them. He therefore indulged them, during his sitting on the throne; and although he had solemnly conformed to the church of England, he kept one Carstairs, a Scotch presbyterian, to be his domestic chaplain, to whose advice he paid great regard.

It is an observation of a political writer, of the most exalted eminence, that Cæsar was as much a greater villain, and enemy to his country, than
Cataline,

Cataline, as the destruction of the Roman liberties exceeded the intending of it, The same may be applied to the presbyterians and catholics, with this difference only, that the latter did never intend to subvert, but always supported the constitution, whilst their religion prevailed; and, after it was exploded, had no other views than the restoration of their church. Besides this, their attempts were feeble, and even that execrable plot, of the 5th of November, was undertaken by fourteen only, unknown to all the others of that religion; from which time they have lived the most peaceable of subjects, uncomplaining of those penal laws which still hang over them; and not only rescind the free exercise of their religion, but are unchristianly severe in the civil rights with which the sectaries have been indulged. These laws, however requisite they might have been at their institution, are they not at present a disgrace to government, and to the liberal spirit of our church and constitution?

In the mean while, the presbyterians, during the grand rebellion, man, woman, and child, were engaged, with all their powers, to subvert the constitution of this realm, both civil and ecclesiastical, and effected it; for whilst the men were fighting in their fanatic cause, the women and the children were seeking the lord, in prayer, for that success, which destroyed their rights and liberties. From that day, to the present, they have uniformly persisted in being the friends, advocates, and promoters of continental connections; wars for alien interests; augmenting taxes and accumulating debts. They supported the establishment of a standing army; the converting triennial into septennial parliaments; by enacting acts, by sustaining parliamentary corruption, and every law, which they now pretend to ex-
ecrate;

ecrate, because their own iniquities and rebellious actions have rendered it impracticable for them to be discontinued, without the danger of permitting them to effectuate their rebellious purposes.

No sooner was his present majesty enthroned, than their teachers, either because the annual sum which by his grandfather had been given among them, was diminished, or no longer paid, began to feel their *consciences* again grow *tender*. God, like the Diana of the Ephesians, was now once more to be served in their own way; because, by that craft, they had their wealth. They then returned to their old rebellious practices. The king was traduced with less cause, and more enormity, than ever sovereign had known before. Popery was again asserted to be coming in. The articles of the church of England grew offensive, and application to parliament was made to have them altered. Tythes were Jewish, popish, and to be abolished; and the test-act to be repealed. All these were seditious clamours, excited for reasons similar to the preceding in their rebellion against Charles the first; and clamours only they can be justly deemed: for of what avail is the sacramental test to keep these men from honours, posts, and places? on such occasions, were the bread as large as St. Paul's cathedral, and did the cup contain as much wine as the great tun at Heidelberg, they would swallow every grain and drop without hesitation or a wry face. At the same time, although the oath of allegiance has been taken in the morning, they will declaim against the lawful power of their sovereign before night; and with the sacrament, yet within them, execrate that very church to which they had so solemnly conformed. Decide then, my fellow
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countrymen, of the church of England, whether, from the hands of Roman catholics, or of presbyterians, your destruction be most likely to proceed. Reflect on the rebellious acts of the Bostonian fanatics, who would impose on you alone the taxes to support the state; admire and applaud the wisdom and the justice of parliament in beginning a reformation of the catholic church in Canada, by a truly christian indulgence of religious liberty; and in extending the loyal subjects of Quebec behind these restless hypocrites. Sensible of their happiness beneath his majesty, they will be ready to employ their arms to quell rebellion, whilst the presbyterian race, who, by lying calumnies, ever traduce their sovereign, would terrify you with the coming in of popery and slavery; seduce you from allegiance, and incite you to arms. Yet such is the indisputable fact, that, during the fourteen years in which his majesty hath reigned over us, neither this kingdom, nor any other ever enjoyed so continued a series of felicity, in which not one attempt has hitherto been made to invade your property, to diminish your rights and liberties, or to destroy the lives and treasure of his subjects. And to the refutation of this truth, I defy all mankind.

Believe not, therefore, that your king, who is eminently dignified with every virtue of Son, Father, Husband, Brother, Friend, whose acts pronounce him merciful, and by whom all your complaints have been removed, as far as his authority can extend, can ever entertain an idea that may tend to lessen your felicity, or prevent its improvement.

At the same time, be confident that the men of these days, who are actuated by like principles with those rebellious fanatics of Charles the first, whose

whose souls are fraught with every vice, will convert religion to their instrument of iniquity, to seduce you to rebellion, and to promote the triumph of their despotism. Appeal to your own sensations, and you shall find, that their seditious acts can mean but to delude you to their nefarious and interested purposes, by erecting their dominion, and establishing your slavery, which their ancestors so perfidiously accomplished. Have not the Jesuits, who entertain principles less pernicious to government, and whose actions bear no comparison in iniquity with those sectarians, been justly expelled from almost all the realms of Europe? exert, therefore, my countrymen, your indignation against such insidious and destructive villainy. Rouze from your seduction; and manfully proceed to every act of loyalty to the best of kings; to the preservation of your rights, liberties, constitution and country.

F I N I S.

(over)

Dear Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above matter. I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the result of the investigation. I have, however, done my best to ascertain the facts of the case, and I believe that the result is as fair as possible. I have, therefore, forwarded to you a copy of the report, and I trust that it will be found satisfactory. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. H. [Name]







